Netaji Collected Works: Volume 8

Letters, Articles, Speeches and Statements 1933-1937

Subhas Chandra Bose

edited by SISIR KUMAR BOSE and SUGATA BOSE

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In February 1933, a seriously ill and emaciated prisoner was carried out of an ambulance on a stretcher and out onto a ship setting sail from Bombay to Europe. When the same man boarded a KLM flight in Calcutta for Europe in November 1937, he was President-elect of the Congress. This volume brings together the letters, writings and speeches from a fascinating period of mostly enforced European exile in the career of Subhas Chandra Bose. A wide array of topics is explored – imperialism, nationalism, fascism, communism, psychology, philosophy, spirituality, urban planning, travel, Gandhi, Ireland, love, and more.

In addition to over 200 previously unpublished letters, the volume includes such major political essays as 'The Anti – Imperialist Struggle and Samyavada', 'Europe – Today and Tomorrow', 'Japan's Role in the Far East' and 'The Pros and Cons of Office Acceptance'. It is essential reading for all those interested in national and international politics of the inter-War era.

Netaji: Collected Works

Volume 8

Letters, Articles, Speeches and Statements 1933–1937

Netaji: Collected Works
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Letters, Articles, Speeches and Statements 1933–1937

Subhas Chandra Bose

edited by

Sisir Kumar Bose
and
Sugata Bose

NETAJI RESEARCH BUREAU, CALCUTTA

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Contents

Editors' Introduction xv

LETTERS

1.	To Dilip Kumar Roy	5. 3.33	1
2.	To Kantilal Parekh	7. 3.33	3
3.	To Kantilal Parekh	8. 3.33	5
4.	To Kantilal Parekh	15. 3.33	6
5.	To Kantilal Parekh	30. 3.33	7
6.	To Satyendra Nath Majumdar	28. 4.33	8
7.	To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta	11. 5.33	10
8.	To J.T. Sunderland	18. 5.33	12
9.	To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta	23. 5.33	13
10.	To Alfred Tyrnauer	27. 5.33	15
11.	To Naomi C. Vetter	28. 5.33	15
12.	To Naomi C. Vetter	31. 5.33	16
13.	To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta	18. 6.33	16
14.	To Bivabati Bose	21. 6.33	17
15.	To Naomi C. Vetter	29. 6.33	18
16.	To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta	9. 7.33	19
17.	To Naomi C. Vetter	10. 7.33	20
18.	To Naomi C. Vetter	15. 7.33	22

19.	To Naomi C. Vetter	22. 7.33	23
20.	To Naomi C. Vetter	4. 8.33	23
21.	To Naomi C. Vetter	10. 8.33	25
22.	To Naomi C. Vetter	25. 8.33	25
23.	To Naomi C. Vetter	31. 8.33	26
24.	To Naomi C. Vetter	16. 9.33	27
25.	To Naomi C. Vetter	21. 9.33	28
26.	To Naomi C. Vetter	25. 9.33	29
27.	To Naomi C. Vetter	30. 9.33	30
28.	To Kantilal Parekh	3.10.33	30
29.	To Naomi C. Vetter	5.10.33	31
30.	To Naomi C. Vetter	10.10.33	32
31.	To E. Woods	12.10.33	33
32.	To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta	17.10.33	34
33.	To Satyendra Nath Majumdar	19.10.33	35
34.	To Naomi C. Vetter	22.10.33	36
35.	To Naomi C. Vetter	1.11.33	37
36.	To Professor V. Lesny	10.11.33	38
37.	To Naomi C. Vetter	13.11.33	39
38.	To Frances Zajti	6.12.33	39
39.	To E. Woods	7.12.33	40
40.	To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik	7.12.33	42
41.	To Naomi C. Vetter	9.12.33	43
42.	To Naomi C. Vetter	21.12.33	44
43.	To Naomi C. Vetter	12. 1.34	45
44.	To Bivabati Bose	16. 1.34	47
45.	To Surama Dey	21. 1.34	48
46.	To Naomi C. Vetter	6. 2.34	48

47.	To Naomi C. Vetter	14. 2.34	49
48.	To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik	15. 2.34	50
49.	To Naomi C. Vetter	17. 2.34	52
50.	To E. Woods	20. 2.34	52
51.	To Satyendra Nath Majumdar	22. 2.34	54
52.	To Kitty Kurti	23. 2.34	56
53.	To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta	14. 3.34	57
54.	To Kantilal Parekh	24. 3.34	60
55.	To Naomi C. Vetter	30. 3.34	61
56.	To C.R. Prufer	5. 4.34	61
57.	To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta	7. 4.34	64
58.	To Naomi C. Vetter	25. 4.34	66
59.	To Naomi C. Vetter	11. 5.34	67
60.	To Naomi C. Vetter	18. 5.34	67
61.	To Naomi C. Vetter	21. 5.34	68
62.	To Naomi C. Vetter	29. 5.34	69
63.	To Naomi C. Vetter	3. 6.34	70
64.	To Ajit Kumar Dey	12. 6.34	70
65.	To Satyendra Nath Majumdar	5. 7.34	71
66.	To A.C.N. Nambiar	10. 7.34	72
67.	To V. Lesny	25. 7.34	74
68.	To Satyendra Chandra Mitra	25. 7.34	75
69.	To Rabindra Nath Tagore	3. 8.34	76
70.	To Naomi C. Vetter	14. 8.34	77
71.	To Ajit Kumar Dey	29. 8.34	78
72.	To A.C.N. Nambiar	6. 9.34	80
73.	To Naomi C. Vetter	24. 9.34	81

74.	To Satyendra Chandra Mitra	18.10.34	82
75.	To V. Lesny	1.11.34	84
76.	To Naomi C. Vetter	7.12.34	85
77.	To V. Lesny	2. 1.35	86
78.	To Naomi C. Vetter	8. 1.35	87
79.	To Naomi C. Vetter	23. 1.35	88
80.	To C.R. Prufer	2. 2.35	89
81.	To E. Woods	4. 2.35	90
82.	To J.T. Sunderland	12. 2.35	91
83.	From Romain Rolland	22. 2.35	91
84.	To Amiya Chakravarti	7. 3.35	92
85.	To Naomi C. Vetter	21. 3.35	93
86.	To Naomi C. Vetter	25. 3.35	94
87.	To Naomi C. Vetter	29. 3.35	94
88.	To Naomi C. Vetter	8. 4.35	95
89.	To A.K. Fazlul Huq	10. 5.35	96
90.	To Naomi C. Vetter	15. 5.35	97
91.	To Naomi C. Vetter	17. 6.35	97
92.	To Naomi C. Vetter	21. 6.35	98
93.	To Naomi C. Vetter	27. 6.35	99
94.	To Naomi C. Vetter	8. 7.35	100
95.	To Amiya Chakravarti	23. 7.35	100
96.	To E. Woods	24. 7.35	101
97.	To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik	5. 8.35	102
98.	To J.T. Sunderland	6. 8.35	103
99.	To Naomi C. Vetter	17. 8.35	104
100.	To Naomi C. Vetter	6. 9.35	105
101.	To Naomi C. Vetter	1.10.35	106
102.	To V. Lesny	2.10.35	108

103.	To Jawaharlal Nehru	4.10.35	109
104.	To Naomi C. Vetter	12.10.35	110
105.	To Naomi C. Vetter	25.10.35	111
106.	To Thierfelder	7.11.35	111
107.	To Santosh Kumar Basu	12.11.35	115
108.	To N.B. Saklatvala	15.11.35	117
109.	To Naomi C. Vetter	29.11.35	121
110.	To Thierfelder	19.12.35	122
111.	To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik	20.12.35	123
112.	To E. Woods	21.12.35	124
113.	To Kitty Kurti	22.12.35	126
114.	To Amiya Chakravarti	23.12.35	127
115.	To Satyendra Nath Majumdar	23.12.35	128
116.	To Santosh Kumar Basu	3. 1.36	129
117.	To V. Lesny	9. 1.36	131
118.	To E. Woods	9. 1.36	132
119.	To Santosh Kumar Sen	22. 1.36	133
120.	To Santosh Kumar Sen	23. 1.36	134
121.	To E. Woods	23. 1.36	135
122.	To Naomi C. Vetter	24. 1.36	136
123.	To. E. Woods	26. 1.36	137
124.	To Naomi C. Vetter	27. 1.36	138
125.	To Naomi C. Vetter	30. 1.36	138
126.	To Amiya Chakravarti	8. 2.36	141
127.	To Naomi C. Vetter	26. 2.36	142
128.	To Santosh Kumar Sen	3. 3.36	143
129.	To Jawaharlal Nehru	4. 3.36	144
130.	To Santosh Kumar Sen	4. 3.36	145
131.	To Santosh Kumar Sen	4. 3.36	146

132.	To Naomi C. Vetter	5. 3.36	147
133.	To E. Woods	5. 3.36	148
134.	To Santosh Kumar Sen	5. 3.36	150
135.	To Santosh Kumar Sen	6. 3.36	150
136.	To Amiya Chakravarti	11. 3.36	151
137.	To Amiya Chakravarti	12. 3.36	154
138.	To Jawaharlal Nehru	13. 3.36	155
139.	To E. Woods	17. 3.36	157
140.	To Naomi C. Vetter	17. 3.36	158
141.	To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik	17. 3.36	160
142.	From Romain Rolland	20. 3.36	161
143.	To Santosh Kumar Sen	22. 3.36	161
144.	To Romain Rolland	25. 3.36	163
145.	To V. Lesny	25. 3.36	164
146.	To Santosh Kumar Sen	25. 3.36	164
147.	To Thierfelder	25. 3.36	165
148.	To Naomi C. Vetter	26. 3.36	168
149.	To E. Woods	30. 3.36	168
150.	To E. Woods	31. 3.36	170
151.	To Santosh Kumar Sen	2. 4.36	171
152.	To Naomi C. Vetter	24. 4.36	172
153.	To the Congress President	1. 5.36	173
154.	To Tushar Kanti Ghosh	18. 5.36	174
155.	To Jawaharlal Nehru	30. 6.36	175
156.	To Naomi C. Vetter	5. 7.36	176
157.	To Satyendra Chandra Majumdar	18. 7.36	178
158.	To Kitty Kurti	25. 7.36	179
159.	To George Da Silva	19. 8.36	181
160.	To a friend in Calcutta	4. 9.36	182

161.	To Santosh Kumar Sen	5. 9.36	182
162.	To George Da Silva	11. 9.36	184
163.	To Amar Krishna Ghose	30. 9.36	185
164.	To Tushar Kanti Ghosh	8.11.36	186
165.	To Sarat Chandra Bose	4.12.36	186
166.	To Sitaram Sakseria	26.12.36	188
167.	To Kitty Kurti	5. 1.37	188
168.	To Rabindra Nath Tagore	30. 1.37	190
169.	To Naomi C. Vetter	3. 2.37	190
170.	To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik	22. 2,37	192
171.	To Kitty Kurti	17. 3.37	193
172.	To Naomi C. Vetter	5. 4.37	195
173.	To Sita Dharmavir	9. 5.37	196
174.	To E. Woods	11. 5.37	197
175.	To V. Lesny	20. 5.37	198
176.	To Sita Dharmavir	22. 5.37	199
177.	To Naomi C. Vetter	27. 5.37	200
178.	To Santosh Kumar Sen	31. 5.37	203
179.	To Kitty Kurti	3. 6.37	206
180.	To Ram Manohar Lohia	27. 6.37	206
181.	To Sudhir Kumar Basu	29. 6.37	207
182.	To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik	2. 7.37	208
183.	To Sita Dharmavir	7. 7.37	209
184.	To Kitty Kurti	10. 7.37	210
185.	To Sita Dharmavir	31. 7.37	211
186.	To Santosh Kumar Basu	5. 8.37	213
187.	To Ram Manohar Lohia	5. 8.37	215
188.	To Anil Chandra Ganguly	8. 8.37	215
189.	To Khitish Prasad Chattopadhyay	9. 8.37	218

190.	To an Employee of the Calcutta Corporation	9. 8.37	218
191.	To Santosh Kumar Basu	17. 8.37	220
192.	To Sita Dharmavir	26. 8.37	221
193.	To Srish Chandra Chatterjee	28. 8.37	222
194.	To Sita Dharmavir	31. 8.37	224
195.	To V. Lesny	6. 9.37	224
196.	To E. Woods	9. 9.37	225
197.	To Jawaharlal Nehru	17.10.37	226
198.	To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik	19.10.37	228
199.	To A.C. Banerjee	6.11.37	228
200.	To Sita Dharmavir	17.11.37	229
201.	To Mrs J. Dharmavir	18.11.37	229
202.	To Orientourist Ltd.	19.11.37	230
203.	To Naomi C. Vetter	25.11.37	231
204.	To Maggiore Rapicavoli	25.11.37	232
205.	To Rt Hon. The Marquis of Zetland	25.11.37	233
206.	To Mrs J. Dharmavir	6.12.37	234
207.	To E. Woods	18.12.37	236
208.	To E. Woods	30.12.37	237
209.	To Maggiore Rapicavoli	31.12.37	238

ARTICLES, SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS

1.	Message to Countrymen	25. 2.33	240
2.	The Anti-Imperialist Struggle and Samyavada	10. 6.33	241
3.	Vienna, Prague, Warsaw and Berlin	25.11.33	263
4.	The Calcutta Corporation	1. 3.34	265

5.	The Austrian Riddle	April, 1934	267
6.	Vithalbhai Patel's Will	August, 1934	283
7.	An Indian Colonel in Roumania	September, 1934	285
8.	A Glimpse of Aden	March, 1935	287
9.	Italy	9. 3.35	287
10.	Passing Through Cairo	April, 1935	291
11.	Practical Training Abroad for Indian Students	August, 1935	298
12.	What Romain Rolland Thinks	September, 1935	302
13.	The Secret of Abyssinia and its Lesson	November, 1935	309
14.	India's Future	8. 1.36	326
15.	Labour in Jamshedpur—The Other Side of the Picture	February, 1936	327
16.	A Friend of India in Poland	February, 1936	340
17.	Indians in Germany	4. 2.36	342
18.	The Visit to Dublin: A Note	25. 2.36	343
19.	Meeting the Press: Situation in India, India and Germany, League of Nations	March, 1936	345
20.	The Indian Situation and World Opinion	17 .3.36	347
21.	Impressions of Ireland	30. 3.36	350
22.	Liberty and the New Constitution	2. 4.36	353
23.	The Punjab	6.10.36	354
24.	Through Congress Eyes	1937	355
25.	India Abroad	1937	357
26.	Fifty Years of Indo-British Trade 1875–1925	1937	367

27.	The Pros and Cons of Office Acceptance	August, 1937	379
28.	Address at Public Reception in Calcutta	6. 8.37	389
29.	A Lack of Dynamic Idealism	14.8.37	393
30.	Indian Architecture and the Calcutta Corporation	28.8.37	395
31.	Europe—Today and Tomorrow	September, 1937	397
32.	Message on the Death of Bijay Kumar Basu	4.9.37	410
33.	Japan's Role in the Far East	October, 1937	411
34.	On Tampering of Private Correspondence	6.10.37	430
35.	On the Punjab Situation	8.10.37	430
36.	The Peasantry and Indian Nationalism	10.10.37	433
37.	The Bengal Situation	18.11.37	434
38.	To the Editor, *Hindustan Standard*	23.11.37	435
39.	Karlsbad and Other Watering-Places of Czechoslovakia	31.12.37	436
	Note on Netaji Subhas Bose's *Collected Works*		442
	Index		443

Editors' Introduction

In February 1933, a seriously ill and emaciated prisoner was carried out of an ambulance on a stretcher and put on the ship S.S. Gange that was about to sail from Bombay to Europe. When the same man boarded a KLM flight in Calcutta for Europe in November 1937, he was the President-elect of the Indian National Congress. The years 1933 to 1937 witnessed the transformation of a radical leader into a statesman. This volume brings together the letters, articles and speeches from a fascinating, though somewhat unusual and relatively neglected, phase of the career of Subhas Chandra Bose. An extraordinarily wide array of topics and themes are touched upon and explored in his works of this period—imperialism, nationalism, fascism, communism, psychology, philosophy, spirituality, urban planning, travel, Gandhi, Ireland, love and more.

A greater part of these years of enforced exile in Europe (in particular from March 1933 to March 1936), were spent as an unofficial ambassador of India's freedom. Despite being in poor health and having to undergo a gall-bladder operation in Vienna, Subhas Chandra Bose travelled tirelessly across the continent, organizing and addressing bilateral friendship associations in various European countries as well as Indian student organizations in different European cities. He visited Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Rumania, Switzerland, Turkey and Yugoslavia. An itinerary of his travels can be reconstructed on the basis of his numerous letters to Naomi C. Vetter. He returned to India briefly in 1934 on learning that his father was critically ill—arriving too late to see him alive—and went back to Europe soon after the funeral. In March 1936, he was placed under immediate arrest by the British authorities upon his return to Bombay in defiance of a government ban. He spent a year in detention and was permitted to return to active

political life only after the provincial elections of April 1937 under the 1935 Government of India Act, of which Bose was a strong critic. Mahatma Gandhi's choice of Subhas Chandra Bose as Congress President became known at the time of the meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Calcutta in October 1937. Next month on his own volition and with Gandhi's blessings he left on a trip to Europe. Between 1933 and 1936 Bose had been given to believe that he was barred from visiting Britain. On this occasion he included a visit to London and had meetings with British political leaders, especially those belonging to the Labour Party.

Two books written by Subhas Chandra Bose in this period have been published already as volumes 1 and 2 of the *Collected Works*. These are *An Indian Pilgrim*, his unfinished autobiography written during a 10-day stay in Badgastein, Austria, in 1937, and *The Indian Struggle*, his study of the Indian independence movement since 1920, written in 1934.[1] In addition to his political views expressed in many of the nearly 200 letters published here, this volume contains a number of Bose's major political essays. The most detailed exposition of his political philosophy prior to his presidential address at Haripura is the speech—often referred to as 'the London thesis'—entitled 'The Anti-Imperialist Struggle and *Samyavada*' delivered in absentia at a political conference in London on 10 June 1933. It contains an appreciation and critique of Gandhian satyagraha and an enunciation of the ideal of *samyavada*. Attracted by European political experiments in socialism, Bose nevertheless preferred to use the old, Buddhist, Indian term to articulate his ideology of a socialism suited to Indian conditions, one that invoked equality in an atmosphere of balance and harmony.

Throughout his European sojourn Bose was a keen student of international politics. While he was somewhat impressed by the organizational prowess of fascist (and communist) parties and movements, he developed what Kitty Kurti has described as a 'deep contempt' for Nazis in Germany. He made repeated public protests

[1] Bose wrote additional chapters of *The Indian Struggle* covering the period 1934–42 in 1942. Volume 2 of the *Collected Works* consists of this enlarged version of the book.

against racism in Germany, especially anti-Indian racism. On his departure from Germany in early 1936 he denounced the 'new nationalism' in a letter to Dr Thierfelder as not only 'narrow and selfish, but arrogant'. In a letter to Kitty Kurti in 1937 he regarded the Japanese to be 'the British of the East'. Like Gandhi and Tagore, he seemed to have held a slightly more favourable view of Italy under Mussolini—'whatever one thinks' of the man as he put it to Naomi Vetter—but he did have brushes with the Italian authorities. Bose's interpretations of the rapidly changing scene of international relations in the 1930s can be found in his letters to Amiya Chakravarti and his essays on 'Europe—Today and Tomorrow' and 'Japan's Role in the Far East' among others. Always lurking at the back of the mind of this staunch anti-imperialist was a search for points of weakness in Britain's worldwide imperial domination.

A high point of his years of exile in Europe was his visit to Ireland during which he had three meetings in Dublin with Eamonn De Valera. His interest in Ireland is evident from his letters to E. Woods and his articles 'The Visit to Dublin: A Note' and 'Impressions of Ireland'. Bose's favourite European city was undoubtedly Vienna and he took a special interest in the politics of its socialist municipality. Bose's abiding concern about municipal affairs and the development of Calcutta is reflected in his letters to Santosh Kumar Basu and A.K. Fazlul Huq and his article 'Vienna, Prague, Warsaw and Berlin'. Czechoslovakia is a country whose politics and culture Bose found particularly fascinating. He developed a personal rapport with the Czech President Edouard Benes and the scholar of India Professor V. Lesny. He enjoyed visiting Czech health resorts and wrote an article on 'Karlsbad and Other Watering Places of Czechoslovakia'.

While showing unflinching dedication to promoting the cause of Indian independence, Subhas Chandra Bose took pure joy in travelling and discovering new places and peoples. He found the time to reflect and write on a great variety of subjects. He wrote about religion to Dilip Kumar Roy and Anil Chandra Ganguly, psychoanalysis, Jung and Freud to Kitty Kurti and political philosophy in his exchanges with Romain Rolland. He showed great support and solicitude to Jawaharlal Nehru during the critical illness

of his wife Kamala and gave full vent to his light-hearted humour as well as profound humaneness in his letters to his sister-in-law Bivabati Bose and to Mr and Mrs Dharmavir and their daughter Sita Dharmavir. After his release from detention in 1937 he spoke and wrote more directly on various aspects of Indian politics. Of particular interest to students of modern history and politics would be his article on 'The Pros and Cons of Office Acceptance' and his statements on Bengal and Punjab.

Although Subhas Chandra Bose's years of exile contributed much to the development of his personality and qualities of leadership, his absence from India and Bengal was much to the detriment of nationalist politics. This was more so since from 1932 to 1936 his brother and closest political comrade Sarat Chandra Bose was also in prison. Not only was their boldness of vision sorely missed during the second phase of the civil disobedience and revolutionary movements between 1932 and 1934, but no other leader had their generosity and foresight to stem the deterioration in Hindu-Muslim relations during these critical years. Several setbacks had been suffered already on these fronts by the time the Bose brothers returned to the centre stage of Indian politics and tried to turn matters around.

The years of Subhas Chandra Bose's enforced European exile have not been studied as intensively as some other phases of his life and politics. Interested readers should consult the following studies for more information and analysis on the period 1933–37: Leonard A. Gordon, *Brothers against the Raj: A Biography of Indian Nationalists Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose* (Delhi and New York, 1990), chapter 7 entitled 'Ambassador of India in Bondage'; Krishna Bose, *Itihaser Sandhane* [In Search of History, in Bengali] (Calcutta, 1973) and Sisir K. Bose et. al. (eds.), *A Beacon across Asia: A Biography of Subhas Chandra Bose* (Calcutta, 1973), chapter 2. There is also Kitty Kurti's vivid memoir of meetings and conversations in the mid-1930s *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him* (Calcutta, 1969).

One important set of letters written by Subhas Chandra Bose between 1933 and 1937 is not part of this volume. In early 1934, Bose met the woman whom he was later to marry. Emilie Schenkl

assisted him when he wrote *The Indian Struggle* in 1934 and in his political activities in Europe between 1933 and 1936. Bose corresponded with her during his travels in Europe and wrote very frequently after his return to India in 1937. These and other letters to Emilie Schenkl written in the post-1937 period constitute the separate, special volume 7 of the *Collected Works*.

The editors wish to thank all friends and colleagues of Subhas Chandra Bose who deposited his letters to them in the archives of the Netaji Research Bureau. Particular mention must be made of the late Naomi C. Vetter whose collection formed one of the earliest and most precious set of documents preserved by the Bureau. Many friends in Europe helped in the gathering of materials. Dr Miloslav Krasa, formerly Director of the Oriental Institute in Prague, was especially helpful with papers in Czechoslovakia. The late Dr Alexander Werth and Dr Lothar Frank rendered sterling service in Germany. Krishna Bose and Leonard A. Gordon, who know this period in Subhas Chandra Bose's life better than anyone else, made sure that this volume is as definitive as possible. Mr Naga Sundaram's intricate knowledge of the archives is an extraordinary resource which the editors have drawn upon in full measure. Mr Kartic Chakraborty typed many early drafts of the manuscript diligently. Sarmila Bose and Sumantra Bose have supported this enterprise at various stages. The Editors wish to thank again Netaji's wife Emilie Schenkl and their daughter Anita Pfaff for having assigned the copyright in all of Bose's works to the Bureau and for the encouragement they have always given to the Bureau's work. The Bureau is especially pleased to have an agreement with Oxford University Press, Delhi, for the distribution of this and other volumes of the *Collected Works* and wishes to thank Mr Rukun Advani of OUP for his interest and support. Finally, it remains to mention that the publication of this volume has been supported by a grant from the Ministry of Education of the Government of India.

Netaji Research Bureau
Calcutta
March 1994

Sisir Kumar Bose
Sugata Bose

Letters

To Dilip Kumar Roy*

S.S. Gange
5 March 1933

My dear Dilip,

I have not written to you for a long time though you have been good enough to write to me nevertheless. During the months of January and February I was being subjected to relentless mental torture owing to repeated pin-pricks of the Government and till the very last moment I was not at all sure that I would be able to leave for Europe for treatment. Owing to the vindictive policy of the Government it was not possible for me to meet my parents or my friends. Only a few near relatives were allowed to interview me in Jubbulpore Jail. Many friends came from distant places to Bombay to interview me but they had to return disappointed. The police officers who escorted me up to the boat surrounded me like a pack of hounds till the ship actually sailed from the harbour. These pin-pricks which continued till the moment of my sailing from Bombay caused me intense pain.

However, I do not think I should worry you with these petty affairs. It was so good of you to feel so keenly for me all the time I was suffering in custody. And it was so unexpected because you are supposed to have 'given up the world' and taken to Yoga. To be quite frank, my dear Dilip, quite apart from Yoga and spiri-

* Translated from the original Bengali.

tuality, your intensely human feeling for me has profoundly moved me. That you—who are supposed to have forgotten all earthly affairs and to have taken leave of your erstwhile friends—should feel so keenly and intensely for one in my position was altogether unexpected.

In one of your letters, you asked me about my attitude towards Shiva—or something to that effect. To be quite frank, I am torn this side and that—between my love for Shiva, Kali and Krishna. Though they are fundamentally one—one does prefer one symbolism to another. I have found that my moods vary—and according to my prevalent mood, I choose one of the three forms—Shiva, Kali and Krishna. Of these three again, the struggle is between Shiva and Shakti. Shiva, the ideal Yogi, has a fascination for me and Kali the Mother also makes an appeal to me. You see, of late (i.e. for the last four or five years) I have become a believer in Mantra Shakti by which I mean that certain Mantras have an inherent Shakti. Prior to that, I had the ordinary rationalistic view, namely that Mantras are like symbols and they are aids to concentration. But my study of Tantra philosophy gradually convinced me that certain Mantras had an inherent Shakti—and that each mental constitution was fitted for a particular Mantra. Since then, I have tried my best to find out what my mental constitution is like and which Mantra I would be suited for. But so far I have failed to find that out because my moods vary and I am sometimes a Shaiva, sometimes a Shakta and sometimes a Vaishnava. I think it is here that the Guru becomes useful—because the real Guru knows more about ourselves than we do—and he could at once tell us what Mantra we should take up and which method of worship we should follow.

To come back to matters mundane. I reach Venice tomorrow. From there I proceed to Vienna to consult doctors there. Thereafter I shall probably go to some Swiss sanatorium.

The voyage was a fairly pleasant one up to Port Said as the sea was calm. Since passing Port Said we have encountered very rough weather. My troubles (like abdominal pain) are still persisting—but nevertheless I have been feeling somewhat better. Before we reached Port Said I had been feeling decidedly better but the rough weather has upset me since we entered the Mediterranean Sea.

I shall stop here today as the rolling is making writing somewhat difficult.

With warmest love.

I am
Ever affectionately
Subhas

To Kantilal Parekh

Hotel Royal Danieli
Venezia
7 March 1933

My dear Kantilal,

I arrived here yesterday afternoon. From the boat we came to the hotel in a motor boat. I was met at the jetty by my nephew (Sarat Babu's son) who has been studying at Munich for a year and a half.

The weather has been foggy and rainy since yesterday and we have not seen the Italian sunshine yet. I shall not be able to see anything of Venice and her art this time and I shall have to postpone that till I am well.

Your letter of the 27th February, reached me this morning.

Venice, as you know, is a city of canals. Canals are the high ways of traffic and motor boats and 'gondolas' are like automobiles and hackney carriages.

In your letter of the 27th which I received today—you have not sent the flowers etc. from Sri Aurobindo Ghosh. Nor have you sent the press cuttings (from Free Press and other papers). I am anxious for the Indian papers. The cuttings you may send me by

airmail—but I also want complimentary copies of the important Indian papers regularly. Please write to me c/o The American Express Company, 14 Käerntnerring, Vienna.

I had to grant an interview to some representatives of the Italian Press yesterday. I shall send you in due course some of the Italian papers. Please have them translated into English and published in the Indian papers. The Italian Consulate in Bombay or the agents of Lloyd Triestino will gladly help in translating the papers.

Under instructions from the Italian Government the agents of Lloyd Triestino arranged special facilities for disembarking at Venice. On the boat also they treated me with great consideration and I am thankful to them.

I was thinking of sending a cable to you after receiving your letter—but I think I shall wait till I get your telegraphic address. In the meantime I shall write to you by airmail and by ordinary post.

I have sent several messages to the Associated Press and the Free Press since sailing. To the Associated Press, I sent on the 24th, 25th, 27th and 2nd March—by radio or by cable. To the Free Press I have sent on the 23rd and the 6th March. Kindly find out if they have been made use of and have been published.

I was interviewed by Reuter's Agent only at Port Said. He asked me whether I would visit Egypt and if not, what my route and destination were. At no other place has any agent of Reuter's interviewed me yet. From this, you may judge for yourself. Please advise me accordingly with regard to the future.

Regarding funds, I hope you will do your best.

Please inform Tagmohan that I was so glad to receive his letter along with yours. I hope he will not mind my not writing to him separately.

Please write to me regularly. I hope to be in Vienna as long as the doctors want me there for examination and diagnosis and I shall go to the Sanatorium they recommend.

Hope all well there.

Yours affly

Subhas

To Kantilal Parekh

c/o American Express Company
14 Käerntnerring
Vienna – 1
8 March 1933

My dear Kantilal,

Your letter of 27.2.33 was to hand at Venice. I have replied by ordinary post from Venice. I am sending this by airmail.

I sent cable messages to the Associated Press on the 24th, 25th, 27th February and 2nd March. To the Free Press, I sent on the 23rd February and 6th March from Venice and today from Vienna. I am anxious to know what they did with them.

I am waiting for your telegraphic address.

At Port Said, Reuter's agent came to enquire about my route and destination. At no other place has Reuter's made any enquiry about me; the Italian press representatives called on me at Venice on the 6th inst. Please advise me as to what I should do about the Indian Press in future. If possible, please wire to me thus:

Bose Care TRAVAMEX
Vienna

More in my next.

Yours affly

Subhas

To Kantilal Parekh

Lloyd Triestino
c/o The American Express Co.
14 Käerntnerring
Vienna – 1
15 March 1933

My dear Kantilal,

I wrote to you by Airmail from Vienna last week and by ordinary post from Venice on the 7th inst. on getting your Airmail letter of the 27th February.

On the 11th instant I removed from the hotel to Sanatorium Fuerth in the city. I am now undergoing an elaborate x-ray and clinical examination. When the examination is over, I shall call in 3 or 4 specialists for consultation and if they so advise, I intend going to a sanatorium in the country—most probably in Switzerland.

I do not know if you have been able to collect any money. If you have, please cable some money to me on receipt of this. The telegraphic address of the American Express Company here is Travamex, Vienna. Living here is more expensive than I thought—particularly when you stay in a sanatorium. I am writing this by Airmail—so that it will reach you early.

I am anxious to have your opinion as to whether I should send my news to the Free Press or to the Associated Press. Please let me have your telegraphic address at once.

I have not sent any cable to you so far because the long address will cost a lot.

In your letter you said that you were sending press cuttings but I did not receive any. Neither did I receive the flowers etc. from Sri Aurobindo Ghosh.

As I wrote in my last letter, Reuters did not make any enquiries of me except at Port Said. I have sent messages to both the Free Press and the Associated Press and I am eager to know if they made proper use of them. I cabled to the Free Press on the 23rd February,

6th March (from Venice) and 8th (from Vienna). I cabled to the Associated Press on the 24th February, 25th February, 27th February and 2nd March.

If you have been able to collect any money, please send by cable at once.

My love to all.

Yours affly

Subhas

To Kantilal Parekh

c/o American Express Co.
14 Käerntnerring
Vienna – 1
30.3.33

My dear Kantilal,

Glad to receive your letter of the 21st. I have received Free Press Journal of the 22nd, 23rd and 24th. Please see that I get the paper regularly and also the Chronicle.

What have you done about money? If you can collect some, please send by cable to American Express here. If you cannot send please let me know finally without any hesitation or delicacy. You should have no delicacy in these matters. Please do not leave me in suspense—but let me know definitely if I can expect anything from you.

As soon as you are well, please see Mr Harriman and let me know the result.

Please ask Mr Nikhil Sen of the Bombay Associated Press to reply to my letters soon.

I am expecting the list of Reuters' representatives in Europe from you. Please try to write to me by every mail—even a few lines.

Love to all.

Yours affly

Subhas

To Satyendra Nath Majumdar*

c/o American Express Co.
14 Käerntnerring
Vienna
28.4.33

Dear Friend,

I duly received your letters. Please forgive me for not being able to reply. I wish to say and write so much—but physical strength is limited—besides, the time to speak out has not come [arrived]. If I start opening up now, will you pay attention?

One chapter of my life has ended. I am trying to start a new one, I am now fully occupied with this task. Today I am living in a foreign land across the seas in the city of Vienna—but my mind and entire being are with you. Every moment there is only one thought, only one effort, one *sadhana* that is consuming me all the time—by what means, mobilizing what kind of power, by what method can this half-awake nation attain self-fulfillment and be victorious.

In our national history also the old chapter has come to an end. The chapter that started in 1920 is now closed. Satyen Babu! Believe me that the old chapter will not return. Now what is needed is a new method, a new message, a new sense of power. That message, that sense of power we shall find in our own souls if we look for them.

* Translated from the original Bengali

When in 1921 I gave up all positions of prestige relying on my own inner strength, the same day saw the end of the old chapter in my life. One friend had then expressed doubt about my behaviour and said, 'Oh! This is just a political stunt.' I was pained and replied: 'The future will show.' I knew whatever people might say, the chapter that had closed would not return.

Where I have taken my stand today, I am alone, friendless. When I look around I feel as if, there is all round me an endless desert of solitude. I am walking along that vast expanse, like a lonely traveller singing only that song: 'If nobody hearkens to your call, march ahead alone.'

But this loneliness is not for all time. To attain richness and fulfillment in life, one has to give up everything, and be alone. That is why one feels so lonely. If you have to create men, if you have to build up an organization stronger than steel, in that case it is absolutely essential to start from the state of utter loneliness. Where there is scrambling for loaves and fishes—where there is ceaseless quarrel over self-interest, there humanity and strength of character, for that matter, anything pure cannot be created and cannot last. Cromwell was victorious because he created the Ironsides. Where do we have our ironside army? We have not yet achieved Swarajya, because in our country men who can be called real men, have not yet been created and we do not have an army as strong as steel. What is not there has to be created, then we shall be victorious, otherwise not. I have therefore set out today in search of the new. Will anybody come with me? If they do, I am afraid there will be danger and obstruction at every step. After sacrificing everything, one has to set out on the journey absolutely alone, and devoid of any resources. There is no prospect of any prize or presents in return. One is tempted to say in the words of Garibaldi—'I shall give you hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death.' One can be a fellow-traveller, only if he is prepared to accept such a price. In store for such a traveller there will be either death or liberation and immortality. Bengal, politics is now corrupt. Relentless sacrifice will make Bengal's atmosphere once again clean and clear. The task is extremely difficult, but not impossible. Believe me, a wonderful change will come about in Bengal within two years. Selfish quarrels

of the present will not pollute Bengal's air for very long. May all preparations for the coming dawn commence from right now. This is my earnest wish and prayer.

I hope all of you are keeping well. With my heartfelt love.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta

11 May 1933

Sir,

The Lord Mayor of Vienna (Burgermeister) was pleased to invite me to meet him at the Rathaus (the Municipal office) yesterday, 10 May. Your letter was handed over to him. I also conveyed to him and the Municipal Corporation of Vienna in person the cordial greetings of the Mayor and the Corporation of Calcutta. And I expressed my personal appreciation of the Municipal Administration of Vienna and the progress made in recent years under socialist control.

The Lord Mayor expressed his thanks in return and conveyed his cordial greetings to the Mayor and the Corporation of Calcutta. He was exceedingly interested to hear from me the civic progress made in Calcutta since 1924 when Congressmen entered the Corporation for the first time.

I presented the Lord Mayor with two copies of the Calcutta Municipal Gazette (an Anniversary number and the recent Health number) and he was very glad to have them. He offered to give me all possible assistance if,—as I told him—I desired to study the municipal administration of Vienna. He further expressed his cordial wishes for my speedy recovery and was glad that I had placed myself under the best doctors in Vienna.

You may be aware, Mr Mayor, that the Vienna Municipality

has been under socialist administration for about 12 years. During this period they have made considerable progress in housing, education, medical relief and social welfare work in general. Their greatest achievement has been the provision of housing for two hundred thousand persons during this period and all this has been done without incurring any loan. The entire money has been provided from revenue through taxing luxuries, amusements, etc.

Some Austrian friends connected with the municipality have taken me round to see the new houses built by the Municipality and also some of the institutions for the welfare and education of children. What little I have already seen, has impressed me greatly. I feel very strongly that all this experience should be made available to the Corporation of Calcutta.

I told the Burgermeister Seitz of Vienna the programme of our first Mayor, which was in reality a socialist programme. And outside of Russia, Vienna is the most important socialist municipality in the whole of Europe. I should very gladly take the trouble of writing a book on Vienna (from the Indian standpoint) embodying what I see and learn here, if the Calcutta Corporation so desires, and if they undertake to publish it. I shall write a book about Vienna in any case, but a book meant for Municipal Councillors and Municipal employees has to be more thorough. I shall, therefore, be grateful if you would be so good as to let me know if the Corporation would desire me to undertake this work. If necessary, you could place this letter before the Corporation.

Thanking you, Mr Mayor, and with my warmest compliments and greetings to the Corporation and to your esteemed self.

I am

Yours cordially

Subhas Chandra Bose

✉

To J.T. Sunderland

c/o The American Express Co.
14 Käerntnerring
Vienna I (Austria)
18 May 1933

My dear Mr Sunderland,

I cannot tell you how delighted and honoured I felt on receiving such a kind letter from you. I am only sorry I have not been able to reply to you promptly. However, I hope that in view of the present state of my health, you will pardon me.

Your book, with your autograph, was another pleasant surprise for me. Since it arrived, there has been a regular scramble for it among my friends. The book, as you are well aware, is not available in India now, being proscribed by the India Government. Hence it has come to be looked upon as a treasure.

Mr V.J. Patel is at present in Vienna in a sanatorium and we frequently meet. You may have heard that he had a breakdown after his return from America. Doctors say that he overworked himself there. However, he is somewhat better than when he arrived here and we hope that as a result of rest and treatment, he will gradually recover his former strength. I have heard from Mr Patel about his experiences in America.

I cannot tell you how grateful I feel for the kind sentiments you have conveyed in your letter. Since you have been good enough to begin correspondence, I hope that you will be kind enough to continue it in future.

I shall treasure your book with the deepest gratitude. Thanking you once again,

I am

Yours respectfully

Subhas C. Bose

PS I am somewhat better than when I first arrived here—but the progress has been rather slow. S.C.B.

To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta

c/o American Express Co.
14 Käerntnerring
Vienna – 1
23 May 1933

To
The Mayor
Corporation of Calcutta

Dear Sir,

In the letter which I addressed to you last week, I referred to my intention of writing a book on the Vienna Municipality from the Indian standpoint. I also suggested for the consideration of the Calcutta Corporation that the Corporation might undertake the publication of the book. If that be done, I could endeavour to make the book more elaborate than it would otherwise be.

Since I was invited by the Mayor (Burgermeister) of Vienna to meet him at the Rathaus (Town Hall)—I have been able to visit some of the institutions built by the municipality during the last 12 years. So far I have been able to see something of the houses built by the municipality. There is a wonderful diversity in their scheme. At one end there are the huge houses in the heart of the city consisting of apartments—at the other end you have the self-contained cottages with attached gardens built in the suburbs on the model of a garden city. In between these two separated distinct types, experiments have been made by the Architects with several mixed types.

I had also the opportunity of seeing the Kindergarten houses where the children of the poor, whose parents work during the day, are taken care of and educated. The arrangements made for the children of the poor are such as to evoke the envy of even the rich people.

I also saw something of the institution of public swimming baths, which has been created since the war. Thanks to these municipal baths, the Viennese now indulge in bathing and in sun

bath to such a degree that there has been a remarkable drop in tuberculosis. The arrangements inside the baths are so well organized that thousands of people can bathe everyday without the slightest hitch or inconvenience. Continuous filtration is going on, so that the water in the huge swimming baths is kept scrupulously clean and pure, and moreover, the water is heated to a convenient temperature. There are also separate baths exclusively for children.

This week I shall be visiting the huge electricity and gas works, which are owned and run by the municipality. Thus to the extent that my health will permit, I intend going round all the departments wherein we are still backward. Thanks to the municipal authorities, every facility is being afforded me to visit all the institutions in which I am interested.

Last of all, I should refer to the finance department to whose efficient handling is due the tremendous success achieved during the last 12 years. You will be surprised to learn, Mr Mayor, that the new works have mostly been built out of revenue, without incurring any loans. This has been rendered possible by taxing amusements, luxuries, etc., with the object of making the rich pay so that the poor could be looked after better than in the past.

As you may be aware, Mr Mayor, Vienna is a practical illustration of a socialist Municipality, and from that point of view, it has a unique position in Europe. I consider the programme of the first Mayor of Calcutta to be a socialist programme and I have no doubt that I have much to learn from the administration of the Vienna Municipality.

I shall be obliged, Mr Mayor, if you kindly place the matter before the corporation and let me have their decision at an early date.

Thanking you,

I am

Yours faithfully

Subhas Chandra Bose

✉

To Alfred Tyrnauer

Hotel de France
27 May 1933

My dear Mr Tyrnauer,

Enclosed you will find some news which will be of interest. I would be very glad if you could arrange for the publicity of this news as widely as possible. I would like you to give it to the Austrian official agency so that it may appear in the Viennese papers. Besides this, please try to send it to the Italian, French and German papers, besides American papers as well. I am sure that they will be forced to give me the passport for England, if there is wide publicity. So please take the trouble for my sake.

Thanking you,
I am

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Hotel de France, Wien
28 May 1933

Dear Mrs Vetter,

A friend of mine brought me some mangoes from India. May I have the pleasure of offering a couple of mangoes for Dr Vetter and yourself? I only wish I had some more to send.

As you know, the mango is an Indian fruit and one of our best fruits. I only hope that this variety is really sweet.

Best regards for yourself and Dr Vetter.

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Hotel de France
31 May 1933

Dear Mrs Vetter,

I am enclosing a copy of my speech for this afternoon. I shall of course speak extempore and not read the speech. But the enclosed note will give you some idea of what I shall speak—so that you will not have any difficulty in translating it into German at once.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta

c/o American Express Co.
14 Käerntnerring
Vienna—1 (Austria)
18 June 1933

To
The Mayor
Corporation of Calcutta

Sir,

Since my second letter to you, I have visited some more municipal institutions in Vienna. The Mayor of Vienna was good enough to depute an English-speaking officer to take me round, and a car was also lent us for the purpose. I have visited the Electric Works, Gas Works and Water Works during the last fortnight. All the departmental heads were uniformly courteous and have offered to supply any information or advice which may be useful for Calcutta. During the next week or so I shall be visiting the Drainage (Sewage)

works and will be looking into the road-making and road-clearing arrangements in the city. I have already seen something of the housing work, social welfare work and the public paths built and run by the municipality. My only wish is that some use might be made of what I have seen and experienced here.

You may be aware, Mr Mayor, that all the public utility services in Vienna are owned and controlled by the Municipality—Electric Works, Gas Works, Tramways, etc., all belong to the Municipality. Electric and Gas are reported to be very cheap when compared with prices prevailing elsewhere in Europe.

During the last twelve years the Municipality has provided housing accommodation for nearly 200,000 people without raising any loans and mainly with the help of taxes on luxuries and amusements.

I have no doubt that the Corporation will remain alive to the necessity of providing cheaper gas and cheaper electricity for the rate-payers of Calcutta. In tackling these problems as many others, we may learn much from the work and experience of the Municipality of Vienna.

With cordial greetings to you, Mr Mayor, and to the Corporation.

I am

Yours truly

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Bivabati Bose*

Vienna
21.6.33

My dear Mejobowdidi,

You must be very angry with me for not having heard from me in such a long time. Anyway, I plead guilty. When the time comes to write an overpowering sense of laziness gets hold of me and I do

* Translated from the original Bengali

not get down to writing any letters. Some weeks have gone by in this way.

My health is improving slowly. I have not gained weight in any considerable measure, I do not regret that as there is no point in having a large waistline. I feel stronger physically than before. I am still under treatment and there are strict restrictions on diet. The funniest part of it all is that the people who tried to guess my age said that I could not be older than thirty-two. Many have said that I am twenty-eight years old. Therefore, what I was apprehending some time ago, that I was aging prematurely, that apprehension is largely gone.

I felt happy to know that Mejdada was better than before. How are you? How are the 'little baldies'?[1] They must be very angry that I did not write to them. I have heard from Asoke, he is well. Please accept my respectful pronams.

Yours

Subhas

To Naomi C. Vetter

Palace Hotel
Indriske
Prague
29 June 1933

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I arrived this afternoon by aeroplane from Vienna and have not left my hotel yet. I did not enjoy the ride, as it made me somewhat giddy. However, I am feeling all right after arrival here. I have not seen anything of the city yet.

[1] Subhas Chandra Bose referred to the children of the family endearingly as 'nera-neris'.

With best regards for President Vetter and yourself.
I am

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta

Palace Hotel
Prague
9 July 1933

Dear Mr Mayor,

I arrived here (Prague) about a week ago. After my arrival I was received by the Primator (Mayor) of Prague, Dr Baxa, at his office in the Town Hall. We had a long and interesting talk and he welcomed a closer contact between Calcutta and Prague.

The Primator of Prague has been good enough to send his greetings to the Mayor and citizens of Calcutta together with his photo and autograph. These are being sent to you this week.

I was shown round the Municipal Office, part of which is very ancient and highly artistic. Later, I was taken to the social welfare institutions, the most famous of which is the Masaryk Home for invalids and for children. I was also taken round the water works, sewage works and Gas works. A visit to the Electric Works had also been arranged, but I could not make time to go there. In my next letter I shall write to you about the points which interested me more. Meanwhile, I should like to inform you that the Municipality here are erectng a new incinerator for the disposal of refuse and this incinerator will be used for generating electricity. Skoda Works have undertaken this work.

The Primator (Mayor) was good enough to order necessary conveyance facilities for my inspection and English-speaking officers were detailed for the purpose of showing me round.

The reply which you, Mr Mayor, will send in response to the

greetings sent by the Primator of Prague will no doubt be appreciated here. If the Corporation or any member or officer of the Corporation desire any information on any of the municipal problems of Prague, the authorities will very gladly furnish the same.

The Prague Municipality are now experimenting with a new type of 'Tar-macadam' roads, which are as good as asphalted roads but are much cheaper. I told the Engineer who showed me round that Calcutta would be very much interested in this experiment.

With cordial greetings to you, Mr Mayor, and to the Corporation.

I am

Yours truly

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Hotel Bruhl
Fredry No. 12
Warsaw
(Poland)
10.7.1933

Mr dear Mrs Vetter,

You will find from the above address that I have become a rolling stone.

I had an exceedingly busy time at Prague. At the end of the day, after moving about continuously, I was left so tired that I had not sufficient energy to write letters even. So please pardon me for not writing earlier.

I was delighted to receive both of your letters. I was deeply moved when I took leave of you in Vienna and I could not find words sufficient to express my deep gratitude to you and Dr Vetter. We are, as a people, exceedingly emotional, though personally I am

supposed to have an impassive exterior. At least this is what some of my friends criticize me for.

The fact that you have been interested in our country has given me infinite pleasure and has increased my gratitude for you. As you know, I have dedicated my humble life to the service of my country. Consequently any interest shown in my country gives me infinite pleasure.

I am sure you could do a lot for India if you decide to do so. Your idea of writing a book on India, suitable for readers in Europe, is a sound and eminently useful one. In this matter you can always count on my help.

I have just arrived at Warsaw and I shall write to you again when I have seen some men and places.

Prague has a peculiar charm about it—specially in the old buildings and medieval relics—but of course Vienna is unsurpassed. I did not stay long enough at Prague to form lasting friendships, but the people whom I met were very nice to me. The Government (i.e. Foreign office and Ministry of Commerce) arranged my programme and fixed up the places and institutions I should visit. Consequently I did not have any difficulty in moving about. I met Dr Benes, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and had an interesting talk with him. Altogether, my visit has been a successful one and we shall be able to form an association in Prague for establishing contact between Czechoslovakia and India.

I hope to remain here for about 8 days. From here I go to Berlin where I shall stay for about a week or l0 days. I have not yet decided about my programme after Berlin but I shall write to you as soon as I decide.

With my very best regards.

I am

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

✉

To Naomi C. Vetter

Hotel Bruhl
Warsaw
15.7.1933
Saturday Night

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I do not know how to thank you for your kind letters all of which I have received. I am sorry that I have not been able to sit down and write a long letter, to say all that is in my mind. Tonight, I shall only say that I feel extremely happy that I spent so many months in Vienna, since as a return my country has found a true and permanent friend in your good self. I only hope and pray that you will never lose interest in India. I am but an unworthy representative of my country. If there is anything good in me, that belongs to my country. Whatever bad there is in me, belongs to me and to no one else.

I am leaving for Berlin on Monday morning (17th July) and I hope to have some rest there. At Prague and at Warsaw, I have been continually moving. I am glad to tell you that my visit to both these places has been a success.

Kindly get the letters from the Spanish Ambassador and please keep them with you. I shall take them from you before I go to Spain.

My address in Berlin will be—c/o The American Express Company.

I shall write to you again from Berlin and at some length. I have had some difficulty in settling my programme—hence I could not write to you anything definite. I felt honoured and exceedingly gratified when you said that you would stay in Vienna if I returned there. I shall write to you about my programme as soon as I settle it myself.

With deepest regards to President Vetter and yourself.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Grand Hotel am Knie
Berlin
22.7.1933

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I am very sorry I have not been able to redeem my promise to write a long letter after reaching Berlin.

I think I strained myself too much at Prague and Warsaw and am now feeling the effect. I am still feeling exhausted and feverish. But I hope to feel better in 2 or 3 days' time.

I have not seen much of Berlin yet and I am therefore thinking of staying another week here. Many thanks for the letter of introduction which you sent me.

The friends to whom you introduced me at Warsaw did not reply to my letter. I think they were out of Warsaw for the summer holidays. I could not make time to go personally to their house and call on them.

I shall write to you again on Monday or Tuesday. More in my next.

Best regards for Dr Vetter and yourself.

Ever sincerely yours

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Grand Hotel am Knie
Berlin
4.8.1933
Friday

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I do not know how to thank you for the beautiful flowers you have

so kindly sent me. I cannot myself think of a present that could be more fitting and more welcome than what you have sent me. The flowers arrived quite fresh and they are now standing in a vase on my table in front of me. They will remain fresh for some days more.

You are quite right about the message of the flowers. Since Tuesday I have been feeling better—so I have begun to do some work here. I am visiting the different municipal institutions at present. On Tuesday I had an interview with the Oberburgermeister of Berlin.

It is too early still to give you my impressions of Berlin. But I can say that both at Prague and at Warsaw I had a warm welcome from the officials and I found that there was a great deal of interest in India.

I am enclosing herewith letters from the Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Calcutta both of whom are personal friends of mine. They seem to have become genuinely interested in Vienna. Kindly return the letters at your convenience as I shall have to reply to them.

I am personally a lover of the mountains and one of my regrets is that we in Bengal do not have more mountains. To reach the mountains, we have to travel right up to the north—i.e. to the Himalayas. But we have one of the grandest snow-views of the world—that of Kanchanjunga which is 27,000 ft. I have heartily enjoyed all that you have written about the mountains and the flowers in your last letter of the 2nd August which I got this morning.

With best regards for Dr Vetter and yourself.

I am

Ever yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

✉

To Naomi C. Vetter

Grand Hotel am Knie
Berlin
10.8.1933

My dear Mrs Vetter,

A friend of mine, Dr Haris Chandra Sinha of the Calcutta University, is now in Vienna. He will be leaving Vienna for Munich on the 13th morning. I should like very much that he should have the pleasure and privilege of meeting you in Vienna.

Dr Sinha is a sound scholar in Economics and teaches Commerce and Banking in Calcutta. He is also the Secretary of the All India Statistical Society.

I should like Dr Sinha to see Dr Neurath's museum in the Rathaus. He would enjoy it and also be benefited by it. Could you kindly arrange that?

I am somewhat better now.
More in my next.

Ever yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Berlin
25.8.1933
Friday Night

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I am sorry I have not written to you for a long time.

Dr Sinha was here for a few days. I am very glad that you were able to help him during his stay there.

I am leaving for Franzensbad on Sunday. I shall be there for a few days. From there I intend going to the Black Forest.

Kindly let me know as soon as you can where you will be after 4 or 5 days. On hearing from you, I shall let you know if I shall go to Vienna on my way to Franzensbad.

Kindly write to the following address:

Villa Dr Steinsberg
Franzensbad
CSR

With best regards to Dr Vetter and yourself.
I am

Ever yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Franzensbad CSR
31.8.1933
Thursday

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I arrived here from Berlin on Sunday last. I am leaving for Vienna tomorrow (Friday) along with Mr Patel who is here now.

I wrote to you from Berlin before I came here. I think you are now out of Vienna and so I have not got any reply from you.

I shall be staying for some days in Vienna and after that I shall probably go to Schwarzwald or some other health-resort. At present I am thinking of staying in Vienna for about a week.

Please do not disturb your holiday by coming down to Vienna for meeting me. I am not going back to India just now. I hope to be in Europe for some months and shall certainly come to Vienna once again. In all probability I shall come to Vienna again by the end of November or the beginning of December next.

I was not well for nearly three weeks in Berlin. I am however

feeling better now. Hope this will find you all quite well. My best regards for Dr Vetter and your good self.

Ever sincerely yours

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Zürich
16.9.1933

My dear Mrs Vetter,

Such glorious weather this morning: not a cloud and delightfully cool.

The scenery in Austria and in Switzerland in the part I have passed through this morning is really charming. At places the hills were capped with snow.

I have broken journey for a day. My address in Geneva will be:

c/o American Express Co.
Geneva

I reach Geneva tomorrow evening.

Best regards for President Vetter and your good self.

Subhas C. Bose

✉

To Naomi C. Vetter

Pension Sergy
Chemin Krieg
Geneva
21.9.1933

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I am so glad to receive your most kind letter of the 18th.

I have had a busy time since coming here. The Conference was a success. We had a crowded public meeting in the evening where I was one of the speakers. People say it is the biggest meeting on India ever held in Geneva.

I am slightly better since I came. It was very bright for 2 days and then it became cloudy and rainy.

Mr Patel is ill and had to go to a Sanatorium here.

I am sending herewith the resolution passed at the Conference.

I have not decided yet about my stay here. If it becomes bright, I should like to stay on here for some time.

When will you begin writing your book? Best regards for Dr Vetter and your good self.

How is the weather there?

Yes, you will certainly find me in Vienna again.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Establissament Physic therapique du Laman
'Le Ligniere'
Gland (near Geneva)
25.9.1933
Monday Evening

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I am writing this from the Sanatorium where Mr Patel is at present staying. Since Mr Patel left Vienna, his condition has become worse. At present his condition is *precarious.* God alone knows whether he will survive the present 'heart attack.' We can only hope and pray for the best.

I may not be able to write to you during the next few days and I am therefore scribbling a few lines hurriedly.

At Geneva my address is *Pension Sergy, Chemin Krieg, Geneva.* I may have to stay on here for the next 2 or 3 days—so that I may be near Mr Patel. But you will please write to my Geneva address in reply.

I have already written to you that the India Conference was a fair success. We had also a successful public meeting.

I am glad to know that you liked our Indian tea. I only wish I had more of the stuff with me here.

I hope to meet many interesting people during my stay in Geneva. If the climate agrees with me—I would rather stay in Geneva than go into the interior. Bright weather has disappeared for the present and we are having rain now.

Best regards for President Vetter and your good self.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

✉

To Naomi C. Vetter

Pension Sergy
Chemin Krieg
Geneva
30.9.1933

My dear Mrs Vetter,

Just a line to inform you that Mr Patel is slightly better now. He is not out of danger yet.

I have received all your kind letters and shall reply at length as soon as I have a little more time.

When Mr Patel is better, I shall most probably go into a sanatorium myself or undergo an operation. My pain is still persisting.

Please excuse haste in writing this.

Yours ever sincerely
Subhas C. Bose

To Kantilal Parekh

c/o American Express Co.
Geneva
3.10.l933

My dear Kantilal,

I am very sorry I have not written to you for a long time. Towards the end of June I left Vienna for a little tour. I was then free from pain. I visited Czechoslovakia, Poland and Germany. In all these places I was received cordially and I found a great deal of sympathy for India.

The touring brought about a release of my old trouble and in Berlin I was laid up for three weeks. Towards the end of August I

left Berlin and after spending a week at Franzensbad in Czechoslovakia on my way, I arrived at Vienna. There I consulted my doctors again.

I left Vienna again on the 15th September and after halting at Zurich on my way, I arrived at Geneva. On the 19th September, there was an international conference on India at Geneva in which we participated. There was also a crowded public meeting.

During the last twelve days I have been extremely worried over Sjt Patel's condition. He is somewhat better now but not out of danger yet. I was with him day and night for several days. He is in Clinique La Ligniere in Gland which is one hour's run by train from Geneva. Tomorrow I am also going in as a patient in the same clinique. My pain has been persisting since the relapse in Berlin and of late it has increased. If I improve in the clinique, I shall stay there for two months. The climate of Switzerland in winter is better than it is in Vienna.

How are you all doing? My love and best wishes for all of you. Please write to me from time to time even if I am not regular in correspondence.

Yours affly

Subhas

To Naomi C. Vetter

Clinique 'La Ligniere'
Gland
Suisse
5.10.1933

Frau President Vetter
Wehringer Strasse 41
Wien – IX
(Öesterreich)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

From a visitor I have become a patient in this Clinique. Let me see if the treatment here does me good.

Mr Patel—you will be glad to know—is somewhat better, though he is not out of danger yet. Every day that passes gives me hope that he may pull through. Hope this will find you all quite well. Best regards for President Vetter and your good self.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Clinique 'La Ligniere'
Gland
Schweiz
10.10.1933

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I was duly in receipt of your long letter of the 27th inst. your post card of the same date and your subsequent letter of the 2nd October.

I have read with interest the letters from India you have so kindly enclosed. I am returning the one from Mr Sri Krishna but not the one from Mr Agnihotri as you did not want it. Mr Agnihotri's address is:

K.B.L. Agnihotri, Esq.
Bilaspur
C.P.
India

Burgermeister Seitz's letter is quite all right and I am happy to have a copy of it.

By the way, did you see that the Labour Party Conference at Hastings in England recently passed a resolution congratulating the Social Democratic party of Austria on their 15 years' constructive work in Vienna?

'Pandit' or 'Pundit'—literally means *one who is learned in our philosophy and literature (Sanskrit)*. In our modern high schools and colleges—teachers of Sanskrit literature are also called Pandit. In *some* parts of India, all Brahmins prefer to call themselves 'Pandit'—as in Kashmir. When used in this general sense, 'Pandit' only implies

a Brahmin, without any reference to his knowledge of Sanskrit literature or our philosophy.

With reference to the articles on India in the *Züricher Zeitung*, I am interested to know if they are written from the British standpoint. I am afraid they may be a part of anti-Indian propaganda which appears occasionally in the German press.

I am very glad to know that you have had such glorious weather of late. It has not been so bright here of late and it has been raining frequently.

Mr Patel has had another relapse of heart troubles and I am rather disappointed because I hoped that he would gradually recover. I really don't know what is going to happen, though I am not without hope that he may pull through.

My pain (after meals) is still persisting and I do not know what to do. I am doubtful if they have been able to diagnose me properly at all. However there is nothing else to do but to suffer. I am giving the people here a chance to see if the Swiss doctors can cure me. I am now a patient in this Clinique (Sanatorium).

Enclosed you will find a letter from Dr Sunderland from America. Please return this letter after perusal. I hope you have got his book by now—and also his letter. So you can begin the translation now.

Best regards for Dr Vetter and your good self.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To E. Woods

Clinique 'La Ligniere'
Gland
Switzerland
12.10.1933

Dear Mrs Woods,

Your letter dated the 4th inst. to Mr V.J. Patel is to hand. He is very glad to receive your kind message and desires me to convey

his warmest thanks for the same. I am sorry he is not well enough to write.

Re: his condition, I am sorry to say that he is still in a critical condition. We are hoping for the best, but as a matter of fact, God alone knows whether he will survive this attack.

Doctors are still unable to say if he will survive his present illness.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta

S.C. Bose
c/o American Express Co.
rue du Mont Blanc
Geneva

La Ligniere, Gland
Switzerland
17 October 1933

To
The Mayor
Corporation of Calcutta

Dear Mr Mayor,

Last week the original letter addressed by the Mayor (Burgermeister) of Vienna to your good self was dispatched from Vienna along with a photograph. I am enclosing a copy of that letter. I have no doubt that this cordial message will be warmly appreciated by the Corporation and the citizens of Calcutta and yourself as their head—and a suitable reply will be dispatched as early as possible.

With warmest regards.
I am

Yours cordially

Subhas C. Bose

To Satyendra Nath Majumdar*

c/o American Express Co.
Geneva
19.10.33

Dear Satyen Babu,

I have not written to you for a long time. You have also therefore lost hope and stopped writing. You are not at fault—it is mine. Never mind, please accept cordial greetings, affectionate embraces and love on the occasion of Bijoya.

I have been pained and stunned by Mr Sengupta's untimely demise. Unfortunate Bengal! Providence is swallowing up all we have one by one from the political arena. Sengupta's void will not be filled.

I am now, in a sanatorium called La Ligniere, in a town (or village), called Gland, near Geneva. Mr Patel is here. His health is very poor—probably he cannot be saved in the long run.

My abdominal pain is back again, in an acute form. I cannot decide what to do. Sometimes I think I better take to surgery. Anyway, for the present I am more concerned about Mr Patel than myself.

How are you all keeping? I wish to have news in detail. How long will you follow Mahatma Gandhi blindly? It appears as if the country is going to the dogs—while there is still time please preach a new message and organize a new movement. Otherwise to reawaken the country later will take a very long time.

* Translated from the original Bengali

Apart from that, please get Bengal properly consolidated. If Mrs Nellie Sengupta makes an effort, the result may be good. I am thinking of writing to her about this. I have recently heard from her.

So long today. Please convey my Bijoya love to all.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

La Ligniere
Gland
Schweiz
22.10.33

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I have not heard from you for a long time and this has made me rather anxious. I have been expecting your letter daily. Did you not receive my last long letter in which I had enclosed some other letters you had sent me as well as Dr Sunderland's letter to me?

Mr Patel's condition is still very serious. I am undergoing treatment here but without much effect so far. The internal pain is still troubling me.

Best regards for President Vetter and your good self.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

PS You must be aware by now that Dr Sunderland is agreeable to your translation of his book.

S.C.B.

To Naomi C. Vetter

Pension Sergy
Chemin Krieg
Geneva
1 November 1933

My dear Mrs Vetter,

Your kind letter of the 23rd October gave me much solace and comfort. My thanks to Dr Vetter and your good self for the same.

In accordance with Mr Patel's last wish, we had to send his body to India for cremation. I had been to Marseilles and returned from there the other day after the embarkation of the body.

I am staying for the present at the above address and have not decided about my future plans yet.

I have received a letter from your friend in Warsaw which I am enclosing herewith. Will you kindly write me his name and address? He had sent the letter to India, from where it has been redirected here.

I am also sending a telegram, the sender's name of which I cannot decipher. The name appears to be Chinese. I wonder if it is the Chinese Ambassador in Vienna who knew Mr Patel personally. Could you please enlighten me?

Have you received the books from Dr Sunderland and his letter?

How is the weather there now? It is wet here at present.

Best regards for Dr Vetter and your good self.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

✉

To Professor V. Lesny

c/o The American Express Company
Geneva
10 November 1933

To
The President
Oriental Institute
Prague

Sir,

I am in receipt of your kind letter no. 1397/33 of the 3rd November, 1933. I thank you most heartily for inviting me on the occasion of the inauguration of the Indian Circle of the Oriental Institute.

Owing to my ill-health, I am at present undergoing a course of treatment and I shall soon be leaving for the south of France. In the circumstances, it will not be possible for me to come to Prague about the middle of November. I have therefore sent you a telegram immediately after receiving your invitation, suggesting a date about the middle of December. If it be possible for you to fix a date about that time, I shall be glad to accept your kind invitation and come to Prague.

It is hardly necessary for me to add that I fully support the proposal for establishing closer cultural and commercial relations between our two countries. It would interest you to know that since my last visit to Prague, I have already done some propaganda in India in this direction. When I visit Prague again, I shall gladly do all that I can for furthering our common object and shall gladly address any meetings that may be arranged for this purpose. Thanking you once again,

I am, Sir,

Yours very truly

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

c/o American Express Co.
Geneva
13.11.1933

Frau President Vetter
Wahringer Str. 41
Wien – IX
(Öesterreich)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I am sorry I have not written to you for a long time. In the meantime you must be wondering what has happened to me.

Your two last letters were duly received—many thanks. I shall reply at length within 3 or 4 days. I am leaving for the south of France within a day or two.

My health is much the same as before. I am now following strictly the prescription of Professor Neumann of Vienna.

How are you all? Best regards to President Vetter and your good self.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Professor Frances Zajti

Hotel de Luxembourg
Promenade des Anglais
Nice
Tel. 839. 45–839–46
(France)
6.12.1933

Respected Professor,

I have come to hear of yourself and of your good work in connection

with India and Hungary—from my esteemed friends Mr and Mrs Fülop-Miller of Vienna.

As one who desires a closer association between Hungary and India, I heartily welcome your good work in this behalf.

I am looking forward to the day when I shall have the pleasure and honour of making your acquaintance. I hope to pay a visit to Budapest some time next year before summer.

I was in Vienna for several months this year. Latterly I have been travelling in Switzerland and France.

With best regards.

I remain,

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To E. Woods

c/o American Express Company
Nice (France)
7.12.33

Dear Mrs Woods,

Thank you so much for your letter of the 3rd November. I am sorry for the delay in replying to it.

It was good of you to send the sympathetic message of Irish friends to the Indian Press. I am sure it will be greatly appreciated. I remember that in September 1929 the family of Terence MacSweeney sent a short but magnificent message on the occasion of the death from hunger strike of Jatin Das in Lahore Prison. The message was received with grateful appreciation.

Thank you very much for the invitation to come to Ireland. I have been longing to visit Ireland for years and I hope to do so before I return to India. In my part of the country (Bengal), recent Irish history is studied closely by freedom-loving men and women

and several Irish characters are literally worshipped in many a home. At present I am not allowed to visit the United Kingdom—nevertheless I shall be permitted by the Irish Free State Government to visit Ireland (Free State). But I want to keep this fact a *strict secret.* Some friends of mine in London are trying to secure permission for me to visit England. But if the British Government come to know that I am planning to visit Ireland, it will put their back up and they will never issue a passport for my visit to England. Until the question of my visiting England is finally decided, one way or the other, I desire to keep quiet regarding my intention to visit Ireland.

For Madame Gonne MacBride I have a message from my brother whom I met in prison just before I sailed for Europe. My brother met Madame in 1914 in Paris and ever since then, has been one of her admirers. I dare say Madame does not remember my brother. He has been in internment since February, 1932. My brother went with Mukherji, an Indian friend of his, to visit Madame.

I duly received a copy of your bulletin and I liked it. Do you get any of the Indian papers (in English) regularly? If you get them, would it be possible for you to pick out the interesting news—or would it be necessary to supply you with the news in a ready form? How often do you publish the bulletin? I am anxious to supply you with information about India.

Kindly let me know which papers in Ireland are likely to publish interesting news, exposing the true character of British Imperialism. *Irish Press* of Dublin is Dev's paper—I think. Which is the organ of the I.R.A.? We shall try to send some news from time to time, if you could supply me with a list of the friendly Irish papers and journals.

I hope letters are not secretly censored in Ireland *nowadays*, as they are in India. It is necessary for me to know that.

With deepest regards.

I am

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik*

Permanent Address:
The American Express Company
14 Käerntnerring
Vienna

Nice (France)
7.12.33

My dear Sunil,

I have received a number of letters from you. Please forgive my failure to reply to them. Recently, I was glad to receive your letter written on the occasion of Bijoya.

In your previous letters you wrote about efforts to lessen factionalism in Bengal. I am very eager to know what happened thereafter.

I have come recently to the south of France. Most areas of Europe have rain and fog. I have come here in search of clear sky and sunshine. These resorts on the Mediterranean are truly beautiful.

My chief malady—abdominal pain—is still giving me trouble. The pain disappeared in June last. Then I had a relapse in July and have been suffering since. Recently, the pain became very acute. It is less now, but the progress is very slow. I can hardly say how long it will take me to recover completely. I have been in Europe already for eight months but no definite improvement has taken place so far. And, then, if I am not fit what shall I do after returning home? No work is possible with broken health.

Never mind, I hope all of you are keeping well. With love and best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

* Translated from the original Bengali

To Naomi C. Vetter

Hotel de Luxembourg
Nice (France)
9.12.1933

My dear Mrs Vetter,

When I was in Vienna I used to have long talks with Mr Rochowanski about problems relating to Austria and India. Mr Rochowanshi, later on, introduced me to Director Otto Faltis. Mr Faltis struck me as a capable and business-like person and together we drew up a practical plan for bringing our two countries together. He was to work at this end and I was to work in India—*on my return.* We were *not* going to do actual business. We would only help business and other relations between our two countries. Later on, if we wanted to do business—that would be different and a new proposition which we would consider anew. Recently Director Otto Faltis has sent me a draft of the new Association. On the former occasion, I did not seek the advice of Dr Vetter and your good self as it was not then necessary. But now that the plan is going to take a practical shape and may do good, if properly worked—I should like to have your advice on the following points:

1) Are the gentlemen with whom I am to work reliable?

2) Is the scheme on the whole on the right lines?

I must say that in all my talk and correspondence with Mr Faltis—I found him to be quite gentlemanly and reliable. Nevertheless as an intimate friend, I think I should seek your advice before proceeding any further. Kindly treat this matter as quite confidential and let me have a reply at your earliest convenience.

I am enclosing a cutting which will interest you: Another example of the British mailed fist.

I have already written you a long letter which you must have received by now. Best regards for both of you.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Hotel Excelsior
Rome
21.12.1933

My dear Mrs Vetter,

You will be surprised to get this letter from Rome. On the 19th, I suddenly got an official invitation to attend the opening ceremony of the Italian Oriental Institute. I left Nice hurriedly on the 19th evening, arriving here yesterday afternoon, after a bad journey. Yesterday and today the weather is particularly bright and sunny and so Rome appears at her best.

The Vienna batch of Indian students—about 22—have arrived also. Altogether there are about 90 Indian students from different centres in Europe and about 150 Chinese students.

The Oriental Institute was formally opened this morning and we were all there. Tomorrow and the subsequent days, the Asiatic Students' Congress and the Indian Students' Conference will meet in Rome. Signor Mussolini is to address the Asiatic Students' Congress tomorrow morning.

My health is somewhat better than when I arrived in Nice—so it was possible for me to come. I received your last 2 letters in Nice. Thank you so much. More in my next. Best regards for Dr Vetter and your good self.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Hotel
Principe 7 Savola

Milan
12.1.1934

My dear Mrs Vetter,

You must be wondering what has happened to me since I arrived in Rome. By now, you must have received a full report from the eye witnesses. I shall therefore summarize what took place in Rome.

1) There was the opening ceremony of the Oriental Institute of Rome (Italy, I should have said) on the 21st December.

2) There was the Asiatic Students' Congress from the 22nd to the 28th December—attended by 600 Asiatic students from different centres in Europe. Travelling was free on the Italian Railways and free board and lodging was given in Rome for one week. Mussolini addressed the Congress on the 22nd December. The speech was a fine one—whatever we might think of the speaker. He said—'It is nonsense to say that East and West will never meet. Rome has in the past been the connecting link between Europe and Asia and she will be so once again. On this rapprochement depends the salvation of the world. *Rome has in the past colonized Europe—but her relations with Asia have always been of a friendly kind, based on cooperation.*'

3) The Indian Students' Convention met in Rome for the third time—the other two conventions having been held in London in 1931 and in Munich in 1932. It was decided to shift the Central Office of the Federation of Indian Students in Europe—from London to Vienna. I gave my hearty support to the proposal and in doing so, I was influenced by the thought that in Vienna we had such good friends like your good self. It was also decided to hold the fourth Convention of Indian students in Vienna in 1934. All this means a great responsibility not only for the Indian students in Vienna but also for their friends. I am anxious to know what you think of the step that we took.

After the Congress and Conferences were over, I stayed on in Rome for nearly a fortnight in order to explore the ground and make some friends if possible for the cause of India. I am summarizing my experience as follows:

1) There are a few people in Rome genuinely interested in India.
2) People generally do not know anything about India—but there is a desire to know. There is no prejudice against Indians—rather there is sympathy.
3) Socially, Italians are *generally* inclined to keep aloof. They do not invite foreigners to their homes until they know them very intimately. I am told that the same is the case with the French. But this of course is in contrast to what I have seen among German-speaking people in different parts of Europe.
4) I think I have been able to create a deeper interest for India in some persons whom I came to know in Rome. But it is yet too early to say how far they will work. The official attitude is extremely favourable now and they want closer contact with the East. If such an official attitude had existed in places like Vienna or even Berlin—I am sure that we could have done much useful work there.

Many, many thanks for the beautiful present you sent me for the New Year. You could not have made a better selection.

In your previous letters, you expressed anxiety at what would happen to me about my returning home. You need not have any anxiety at all. They cannot prevent me from reaching Bombay and if they put me in prison when I land, I do not care. As long as the present situation in India continues, there is no doubt that they will imprison me when I reach Bombay—but there is no help for that. Consequently I should make the fullest use of my liberty while I am in Europe.

You remember Mr and Mrs N.K. Bose who were in Vienna some weeks ago. Mrs Bose comes from an interesting family. One of her sisters is in prison for 9 years—for trying to shoot the Governor of Bengal at the Convocation Ceremony in 1932. She had gone to the Convocation to take her B.A. degree but she was

caught after firing a few shots which missed. The girl is very quiet and shy by nature. Another sister is in prison without any process after taking her M.A. degree. This is our new generation! I shall now stop. I reach Geneva on the 18th January. My address in Geneva will be—c/o Mrs Horup, 23 Avenue Beau Sejour, Genf, Schweiz.

Best regards.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Bivabati Bose*

Milan, Italy
16.1.34

My dear Mejobowdidi,

I went down to Rome on 20th December and spent nearly three weeks there. Asoke came and stayed eight or nine days. I wrote a detailed letter to Mejdada from Rome by airmail.

Now I am on my way to Geneva. I arrived in Milan three or four days ago and shall leave for Geneva day after tomorrow. My address there will be c/o American Express Company.

Can you make out why there are repeated attacks of paratyphoid fever in the family? I believe there should be some thinking or investigation about the matter. So far, probably not a single person has been spared; there must therefore have been some cause behind it. How is Putul now? I am sending two photographs taken in Milan. Please send one to Mejdada. I am enclosing letters addressed to Gopali and Mejdada—please mail them appropriately.

Yours

Subhas

PS Why has Mr P.C. Basu stopped writing?

* Translated from the original Bengali.

To Surama Dey*

c/o American Express Company
Geneva
21.2.34

Dear Madam,

I duly received your letter of 5th October, but I did not answer so long. Please forgive the lapse.

Meanwhile, pictures of Budapest have been sent to you. I do not know if they have reached you, I hope they have. If not, please let me know—because in that case I can make enquiries.

My health is now somewhat better than before. The abdominal pain is less and the weight also has gone up. But it will still take some time for me to recover. In any event, now I take very good care of myself.

I am sending a letter for Amiya with this letter. Please call him and hand the letter over to him.

I hope you are all keeping well. I send you my respectful namaskar.

Yours

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

23 Avenue Beau Sejour
Geneva
6.2.1934

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you for some time past. I think the last letter was mine.

* Translated from the original Bengali.
(Surama Dey was the wife of Ajit Kumar Dey, Bivabati's brother.)

I arrived here about 3 weeks ago from Italy. I stopped at Milan for some days on my way from Rome. A group of Indian students are now studying in Milan.

Since coming here, I have been busy in helping Mrs Horup to bring out her monthly bulletin on India. They are going to bring out a monthly bulletin in three languages on India—English, French and German. Yesterday I sent you a German copy of the bulletin for January. This month it will reach you earlier—I hope.

My elder brother, who is at present interned in India, was an Alderman of the Calcutta Municipality for eight years. He has recently written to me enquiring if there is any book in English dealing with the work of the Vienna Municipality. I have just written to Mr Katyar asking to find out the name of the book from you and to send me a copy—which I intend sending on to my brother.

Have you been able to make any progress with the translation of Mr Sunderland's 'India in Bondage'?

There are many things I want to write to you about but I shall reserve them for my next letter. In the meantime, I hope to hear from you. Best regards for President Vetter and your good self.

Ever yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

23 Avenue Beau Sejour
Geneva
14.2.1934

My dear Mrs Vetter,

This evening London papers have brought us terrible news about Austria. I am enclosing a cutting from the *Times* which will give you an indication of what has been published outside Austria.

I can understand how you all must be feeling in such circumstances. I need hardly say how very concerned I shall feel about friends in Austria and particularly in Vienna.

Your long silence was making me anxious and this was aggravated by a letter from Mr Rocho-Wanski, saying that you were ill. I was going to send a telegram, when your welcome letter arrived.

I shall not take up more of your time today. Please let me have a line to say how you all are. I am particularly anxious for President Vetter.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik*

c/o American Express Co.
Geneva
15 February 34

My dear Sunil,

I received your last letter on 24th January 34, upon my return here. I arrived here from Nice on 18th January 34, after visiting Rome and Milan. My health is somewhat better than before and there has been some gain in weight. But the improvement is very, very slow and any departure from strict routine causes severe abdominal pain. The pain is now less than before but a dull pain is persisting. I hardly know when I shall again be my normal self.

I was very pleased to read what you wrote about the need to eliminate factional quarrels. How does Mrs Sengupta feel and what is her opinion in this regard? I wrote to her some time ago and made a fervent request to her, to take the initiative in lessening factionalism. But I have not yet received any reply to that letter.

* Translated from the original Bengali

You wrote about a conference to unite all concerned. I am very eager to have detailed news in this regard.

I shall try to send you the book you wrote about. But there may be some delay because I do not have a spare copy.

I am enclosing a photograph, this was taken last month in Milan.

I have not written to you for quite some time, may be for five or six months.

The telegraphic address of the American Express Company everywhere is AMEXCO. Only for Vienna the telegraphic address is TRAVAMEX. In most of the large cities, the American Express has branch offices.

At present I have no party of my own. There has to be a new party on new foundations. I cannot function with cowards. The party has to be organized by keeping out two kinds of people—the cowardly and the selfish.

I have ruled out the proposal for an operation at the moment. I have been under the treatment of Professor Neumann of Vienna for the past three months and have as a result benefitted to some extent. Besides, I am now taking 'makaradhwaja' as advised by Shyamadas Kaviraj.

I enjoyed my days in Rome and Milan. I have written articles on India, in leading newspapers there and spoke at the biggest society in Milan (Cicolo Filologio Society) on the subject of 'Italy and India.' Many distinguished citizens came to the meeting.

I hope you are well.

With best wishes

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

23 Avenue Beau Sejour
Geneva
17.2.1934

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I have been extremely worried and anxious during the last few days over the happenings in Vienna. I have already written a letter to you. I shall remain anxious as long as I do not hear from you. Please let me know at once how you all are doing.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

Mrs N.C. Vetter
c/o President Dr Vetter
Wehringer Strasse 41
Wien IX
(Autriche)

To E. Woods

23 Avenue Beau Sejour
Geneva
20.2.1934

Dear Mrs Woods,

I am very glad to receive your kind letter of the 12th January. Pardon me for the delay in replying to your letter. I hope that in the meantime your son has recovered completely.

Please let me know what daily English nationalist papers you get from India. I could probably help you in getting a regular supply.

I am sorry I am very late in replying to Madame MacBride's letter. I have just written a long letter to her explaining everything.

Thanks very much for the bulletin you sent me. It was very interesting. A few days back we sent you a copy of the bulletin published from here. We are going to bring out every month a bulletin in three languages, English, French and German.

I would like very much to write an article on official repression in India on the points you have suggested. I would have done so already but during the last month, I have been extremely busy over matters here. But I hope to do so soon. I shall send it to you and you could place it in the best paper. For publicity, I think, the *Irish Press* would be the best.

We are particularly grateful to you for the prompt reply to Mrs Cousin's article on her jail experiences. I was astounded to read it. Really I cannot understand her mentality.

Kindly send me a list of the friendly papers in Ireland. We shall send our Bulletin to them direct the same time. The January number has been sent only to *Irish Press* and *An Phoblacht.*

You say that you get the *Hindustan Times, Free Press Journal,* and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*—among the dailies. Do you get them regularly, i.e. every week? Do you get the daily issues or the weekly issues of these papers?

Madame MacBride has written to say that owing to want of funds, the work of the I.I. League may come to an end. I do hope that you will manage to continue, come what may. On my side, I am determined to do my best to foster this contact.

The Secretary of the India Committee here is a Danish lady—Madame Horup—I have spoken to her about the I.I. League and about the friends in Ireland. And she has been greatly interested.

With best regards.

I am

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Satyendra Nath Majumdar*

c/o American Express Company
Geneva
22.2.34

Dear Satyen Babu,

I received your letter of 23rd November on 11th December and was pleased to read it. I do not approve of all your comments, but what makes me happy is that you try to get at the root of things.

The picture you have drawn of the current situation in the country is very true. But have you correctly indicated the cause? You have written—'Whether the weakness of national character is responsible or whether the defect in civil disobedience is responsible is difficult to say.' I will say, if the leader claims credit for success, then he has also to accept the ignominy of defeat. It will not do to say—'Countrymen did not respond—people of the country have no strength of character', etc. When the leader will announce his programme, he has to formulate his programme, taking into account the human material. My charges are as follows:

(1) The path adopted by the leaders could not lead to success.

(2) They had minimized the ideal of self-sacrifice before the country. You may say that the leaders, after assessing the country, the time and the subjects, consciously minimized the ideal and deliberately indicated a relatively softer line. I shall say in reply:- 'Let that be so; I do not want to quarrel over the past. Let the leaders now come forward and tell the countrymen forcefully that a higher ideal is needed and more moderate means are desired. I criticize the leaders not to belittle them, but to determine the path of duty in the future. And, you often think that by criticizing we are speaking ill of all their work and denigrating the entire movement. But how can I disown a movement with which my existence is mixed up inextricably?

You had written—'We certainly do not follow Mahatma Gandhi blindly.' But I ask, what will be the opinion of anybody

* Translated from the original Bengali

reading the Ananda Bazaar daily? Have you ever in any way criticized Mahatma Gandhi or his movement? Readers do not know what goes on in your mind, they only read whatever is written in the Ananda Bazaar. When such blind support is forthcoming, the leader's eyes will never open.

Then, you have written—'There is no political leader in Bengal today who can unite Bengal and take a distinguished place among the all-India leadership.' But I ask—you, the journalist fraternity, have you tried to set such a person up before the public? The kind of treatment that Bengal's public men receive from the Bengal press is not seen in any other province of India. We belittle our own men and then complain ourselves. You will see how in all other provinces, the press support their public men. I can say for myself that except for a few months in 1927 and 1928 I did not ever receive much support. And during the twelve or thirteen years of my public life, the manner in which I have been tormented by the nationalist press of Bengal, is something which I have not experienced even at the hands of the British. British persecution has not lowered me but raised me in the estimation of my countrymen—on the other hand persecution by the nationalist press has lowered me in the eyes of my countrymen. I do not regret this. All that I say is the consideration that Ananda Bazaar reserves for Mahatma Gandhi—why the same consideration is not shown to the people of Bengal? Anyway, let us leave it there.

I shall conclude today with one more observation. I cannot understand Jawaharlal Nehru—how he can at the same time support 'Gandhism' and 'Communism' is incomprehensible to me. I have expressed my views, in my London address, in June last year. And recently I have sent a short statement for the press back home. I do not know whether it will be published or not. I do not know if you will call me too proud, but my firm belief is that, other than the path I have indicated, there is no alternative direction for us. Our countrymen some day are bound to take to this path. My principal task will be to organize the *Samyavadi Sangh* and preach the principles of *Samyavada*. The party that will emerge out of this, will liberate the country. Please accept my sincere love. My health is somewhat better. I hope you are all well. Is 'Desh' being pub-

lished? However, I have not been receiving it. I am getting Ananda Bazaar regularly.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Kitty Kurti

23 Avenue Beau Sejour
Geneva
23.2.1934

Dear Mrs Kurti,

I was so glad to receive your card from Vienna. In fact I was surprised because I did not expect that you would be there.

I was in due receipt of long letter of the 22nd December and it was very interesting. I am sorry for not having replied to it earlier.

'Samya' means 'equality.' 'Samyavadi' means 'one who believes in equality.' 'Sangha' means 'Society' or 'Association.' The idea of Samya is a very old Indian conception—first popularized by the Buddhists 500 years before Christ. I therefore prefer this name to the modern names now popular in Europe.

The younger generation in India are all impatient. They think with me that Gandhi is too good and too moderate in his ideas and his action. We want a more radical and more militant policy. Nehru's *ideas* are more in our favour. But in *action*, he gives full support of Gandhi. His head pulls one way and his heart in another direction. His heart is with Gandhi.

I should be very glad if you kindly send me all the articles you read about India in the European Press.

The Japanese are in my opinion the 'British' of the East. The Chinese are of course much more likeable as a race because they are human, kind and ethical.

You want to know what I studied. Well—I first studied

Philosophy—called in England—'mental and moral Sciences.' After that I qualified for the administrative service and had to study many subjects like Economics, History, Political Science, Geography, Law, etc. Later on I resigned from the Service because I did not want to serve the Foreign Government.

I was very fond of Psychology myself and also studied Experimental Psychology for some time. If I had not taken to political life—I would probably have been a psychologist.

Which book of Agnes Smedly are you speaking of? She is a very able and clever writer.

I shall be meeting R.R. soon. His sister I have met recently and she works for the India Committee here in Geneva.

And how are you now? Have you read Sunderland's book 'India in Bondage.'

My health is better than before but still far from recovery. With best wishes.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

PS Please write to me something about Vienna. On what subject should I write an article for the Czech Press?

To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta

14.3.34

Dear Mr Mayor,

I hope you were in due receipt of my letter dated the 19th October written from Clinique La Ligniere in Switzerland along with which I forwarded the message sent to the Mayor and citizens of Calcutta by the Mayor (President) of Warsaw as well as [the] brochure on Warsaw presented by him.

I visited Warsaw in July last after my visit to Prague. I was received by the Vice-President (Deputy Mayor) at the City Hall on

behalf of the Mayor, who was then out of town on his summer holidays. After a cordial exchange of greetings, a photograph was taken in his rooms which was later on reproduced in the Polish Paper, a copy of which I also forwarded to you on the 19th October last.

Warsaw was previously the capital of Russian Poland. Since the establishment of an independent and united Polish Republic after the last war, Warsaw has been the capital of new Poland. Great has been the inspiration of the independence of Poland for the civic advancement of the city of Warsaw. The town has been growing rapidly during the last fourteen years and everywhere magnificent buildings are going up. As I walked along the streets of Warsaw, I could feel the throb of a new life.

The rapid growth and advancement of the city has been a great strain on the departments of the Municipality. The Mayor was good enough to make arrangements enabling me to see something of the inner work of the Municipality accompanied by English-speaking officers.

It was a great pleasure to find that the Municipality and the Government were working in close co-operation and collaboration. The first thing that struck me was that huge engineering works were in progress for augmenting the water supply of the city which was needed in view of the increase of the population. For this purpose the river Vistula, the mother of Warsaw as I should say, was being tapped. As in other cities in Europe, I found that the public utilities like electricity, gas, etc., and also the transport services were owned and controlled by the Municipality. I was impressed with the new gas works which had been recently enlarged and overhauled for meeting the added requirements of the city. Everything was being run by Polish officers and engineers and the machinery was as far as possible of Polish make. The complete self-confidence of the Municipal officers made a deep impression on me.

The population of Warsaw since the war has exceeded one million and is now close upon one and a half million. In other words the population is approaching that of Calcutta. Nevertheless I found that the Municipal income of Warsaw was much larger

than that of Calcutta. I was questioned on this point by some Municipal officers and I had to point out that the public utilities in Calcutta not being owned by the Municipality—our annual income appeared to be less than that of Warsaw.

In Warsaw I was taken to a Municipal bakery—the largest of its kind in Poland and probably in Europe. In this bakery equipped with the most up-to-date machinery sufficient bread could be made every day to feed one third of the city population and in the case of a national emergency, the supply could easily be increased in order to feed one half of the population. In other words the Municipal Bakery could normally produce sufficient bread to feed 5,00,000 men without any strain.

The other institute which impressed me greatly was the Physical Culture Institute of Warsaw, the largest of its kind in Europe. The need for building up the health and muscles of the new generation within the shortest possible time has been responsible for erecting this gigantic institute. The entire system of physical training is conducted on medico-scientific principles and there is also a large laboratory and research department. The authorities had a plan ready for erecting a large stadium with other conveniences which would enable them to hold the International Olympic games in the near future. I was reminded of our plans for a Municipal stadium and physical culture institute in Calcutta.

My visit to Warsaw ended with a reception organized by the Oriental Institute of Warsaw which was attended by influential men and I replied in suitable terms to their greetings and welcome. I was deeply impressed with the cordiality of the welcome I received on all hands and with the interest I found for India and for Indian culture. It was a privilege to be introduced to the venerable Professor of Sanskrit—Professor Michalski. Some friends in Warsaw complained in a good-natured manner that the universities of Europe showed more interest for Sanskrit than for the Polish language.

Altogether my visit was a great inspiration to me. It was a lesson to me to see how people who had been held down for centuries could rise to the occasion and fulfil their civic responsibilities with the greatest ability the moment they were called upon to do so. Warsaw can now claim to rank among the finest cities in Europe—

from the point of view of civic development. Further the civic problems which arise when a modern city begins to grow rapidly—as Calcutta has grown—and how such problems can best be solved can be studied nowhere better than in Warsaw. I had the assurance of the highest municipal functionaries that they would gladly help the Calcutta Municipality in the solution of any civic problem—if they were desired to do so.

I hope, Mr Mayor, that you will in due course reply suitably to the greetings sent by the Warsaw Municipality to the city of Calcutta and to your good self.

With cordial greetings I am, Mr Mayor,

Yours sincerely

14 March 1934 Subhas C. Bose

To Kantilal Parekh

Munich
24.3.1934

My dear Kantilal,

I have not had any news from you for a long time. How are you now? I hear that you are now in Ahmedabad. Please write soon—c/o American Express Company, Vienna (or Geneva).

I came here on the 21st March. I shall be in Vienna about the middle of April.

My health is somewhat better than before, though the progress is rather slow. Hope you are keeping well.

Yours affly

Subhas

To Naomi C. Vetter

Eden Hotel
Budapester Str.
Berlin
30.3.1934

Frau President Vetter
Wahringer Strasse 41
Wien IX
(Öesterreich)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

Kindly accept warmest greetings and best regards for Easter. Please convey same to President Vetter.

Ever yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To C.R. Prufer

Eden Hotel
Berlin
5 April 1934

Ministeriealrat Syckhoff
Auswatiges Amt
Wilhelmstr 74–76

Dear Sir,

I desire to enclose herewith a copy of a memorandum embodying what I said to you on the subject of German-Indian relations. I hope you will give the matter due consideration.

With cordial esteem.

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

Germany and India

Since the National Socialist Party came into power in Germany certain new factors have arisen which need attention if friendly relations are to be maintained between Germany and India. These factors are three in number:

1) The attitude of the German Press towards India during the last twelve months;
2) The statements of the German leaders about India;
3) The race-propaganda now being carried on in Germany.

1) Before the national socialist revolution, a large number of articles used to appear in the German Press which were friendly to India and her struggle for freedom. These articles have now been stopped. Possibly the German authorities now think that pro-Indian articles in the German Press will offend Great Britain with whom Germany is now anxious to cultivate friendly relations. Though pro-Indian articles have been practically stopped now, anti-Indian articles still continues to appear in the German Press. Papers like *Muenchener Neuste Nachrichten, Koralle, Kolnische Zeitung, Kolnische Illustrierte, Das Haus* and many others publish from time to time articles which tend to bring Indians into contempt or ridicule before the German public. And this is happening when the German Press today is entirely under the control of the Government.

2) Last year when I was in Berlin, I brought to the notice of the authorities the unfortunate effect which was being produced in India by unfriendly statements made about India by such important personalities as Herr Hitler (in his book 'Mein Kampf") and Herr Alfred Rosenberg (in his book 'Mythos of the Twentieth Century') and in other writings. Matters have been made worse by the recent statement made about Mahatma Gandhi and India by General Goering in his interview to the Daily Mail of London, published on the 20th February 1934. In this interview General Goering called M. Gandhi an anti-British Bolshevik agent and said that years ago he had refused to meet a colleague of M. Gandhi. The statement about M. Gandhi being a Bolshevik agent is entirely false and it is

widely known that M. Gandhi is hated by all Communists, whether in India or outside India. Influential Indian friends have been continually writing to me to know why Herr Hitler and other prominent German personalities are so much against India—since India has not harmed Germany in any way. It has not been possible for me to reply to these queries because the German leaders themselves have not explained their attitude towards India.

3) The most serious factor threatening friendly relations between Germany and India is the unfortunate effect produced by the present race propaganda in Germany. When I was walking along the streets of Munchen a week ago—I was called 'Neger' by German children. Indian students in Munchen told me that they have all been addressed by German children as 'Neger.' Besides this, the general attitude of the people towards Indians is not as friendly in Germany now as it formerly was. This is also the experience of many Indians in Berlin. But things are far worse in Munchen where Indian students have been even pelted with stones on some occasions. It has been further noticed by Indians that when German children have misbehaved in the above manner, their parents or guardians instead of rebuking them have encouraged them. It is the opinion of all Indians that the present 'race' propaganda in the schools and universities of Germany is developing a feeling of hatred towards all Indians. Such an atmosphere never existed in Germany before.

I should further point out that the draft legislation embodied in the *National Sozialistische Strafrecht* published by the Ministry of Justice states that legislation against Jews, Negros and coloured people is under consideration. All Indians in Germany are of opinion that if this draft legislation becomes law—then a mark of racial inferiority will be permanently put on Indians as a nation. This draft resolution has therefore roused considerable anxiety and resentment among Indians.

I suggest that if friendly relations between Germany and India are to be maintained then the following steps should be taken:

1) The anti-Indian propaganda in the German Press should be stopped;

2) A statement friendly to India should be made by responsible German leaders in order to nullify the effect of unfriendly statements made in the past;
3) The proposed racial legislation against Indians should be dropped. Further, race propaganda in German schools and universities should not be so conducted as to generate hatred against Indians.

Subhas C. Bose

To Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta

7 April 1934

Sir,

In connection with my visit to Berlin and reception by the Mayor (Oberburgermeister) of that city, I feel it my duty to communicate to you and the Corporation what I was able to see of the municipal administration there.

Though Berlin is situated on a flat country and is therefore denied the panoramic advantages of Vienna and Prague, it is compensated to some extent by being supplied with beautiful lakes which have been fully utilized for bathing, rowing and other sports. As a city, it is by common consent one of the cleanest (and probably the cleanest) in Europe and this has been possible only because the citizens heartily co-operate with the civic authorities by observing the rules of cleanliness.

Though the population is over four and nearly five miliion, there is not much congestion as would be naturally expected. This is because the city is a comparatively modern one and at the time of planning, it was spread out over a large area. In view of the large population of the city, the supply of such amenities as water, gas and electricity is made not from one station but from several stations in different parts of the city. Public utilities, including transport service, are owned and managed by the Municipality.

From the point of view of the problems of Calcutta I was specially interested in the work of four departments—namely water, sewage, roads and electricity. For water-supply, I found that the big lakes near Berlin had been tapped and in addition, they were using a lot of underground water, obtained by pumping as we do in our tube wells. I was told that there were in all 13 water supply stations in the city. Regarding sewage disposal, I was interested to find that they did not have only one outlet for the city but many. In big stations outside the city, treatment of sewage on modern lines, including the activated-sludge process, was going on. The effluent as well as the sludge derived from treatment were being made use of for agricultural purposes. It was highly instructive to see how such a large city could dispose of its sewage without discharging into a river or the sea. From the sewage works, they were obtaining 8,000 cubic metres of gas every day. I was told they were getting methane gas, CH_4.

Berlin has up-to-date laboratories for experimenting with road surfaces. I was glad to visit some of them and see the work going on there. After visiting the laboratories I went out to see some of the roads that had been recently made. I found that they were making mostly asphalted surfaces on concrete beds. It was costing them eleven marks (one mark is equal to Re. l roughly) per square metre for making the concrete beds and the asphalt layer and this included the cost of repairs for five years.

I also visited the public baths (particularly the public bath in Wannsee—Lake) and also the principal hospitals of the city. I was greatly interested to see the Home for mentally defective boys and girls and the Home for cripples and observed the up-to-date method of looking after and educating them.

For the supply of electricity, there are at least seven stations. I visited some of the biggest ones. In the boilers of the Electricity Stations, they had not only stoker-firing but also coaldust-firing and I was told that they were making use of coaldust on a large scale as they found it to be advantageous.

Altogether my visit was exceedingly interesting and instructive to me. It was very good of the Mayor to make special arrangements enabling me to visit the different places and the sanitary works of

Berlin were good enough to depute Mr von Have to accompany me. The Berlin Municipality, I was assured, will gladly help Cal-. cutta in any civic problem whenever they are desired to do so.

I am sure you have replied suitably to the cordial message sent by the Mayor of Berlin to your good self and Calcutta.

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Hotel Excelsior
Roma
Wednesday
25.4.1934

Frau President Vetter
Wahringer Str. 41
Wien – IX
(Öesterreich)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I broke journey at Florence and I arrived here yesterday evening. I will not be able to finish my work in time to reach Vienna on Friday. I shall reach Vienna on Monday morning at the latest. I wonder if Dr Vetter has left Vienna by now. If so, you are quite alone. When is your daughter returning from London? Best regards.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Grand Hotel
Hungaria
Budapest

Budapest
11.5.1934

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I was happy to receive your letter. It was so kind of you to write so promptly and to think so kindly.

Since coming here, I have not had a minutes rest. The weather has been extremely hot and I have not been feeling well at all. If I feel like this, I do not think I shall be able to complete my tour. I have been feeling very tired and after completing the day's work, no strength is left in me to do anything besides lying down.

Tomorrow I leave for Bucharest and stay there for 5 or 6 days at Hotel Continental.

I have liked Budapest very much. It is picturesque and the natural scenery very attractive. About the people, it is too early to express a definite opinion.

And what are your plans? Do you expect to be in Vienna till the beginning of June?

If I am able to complete my programme, I shall not be able to reach Vienna before the 25th May—and maybe a few days later.

With best regards.

I am

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Athenee Palace Hotel
94 Caba Victoriel
Bucharest

Bucharest
18.5.1934
Friday night

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I arrived here on Sunday last from Budapest. I had a rather busy

time here. The weather was rather warm as in Budapest and made one feel rather tired. I do not know if this letter will find you in Vienna.

I leave tomorrow morning for Constantinople (Istanbul) by air. The train connections are bad and so I found it more convenient to go by air. There I put up at Pira Palace Hotel, Istanbul, Turkey. I had no intention of going to Istanbul when I left Vienna and I wanted to go there in July. But after coming to Bucharest, I realized how near I was to Istanbul and how difficult it would be for me to come again to this part of Europe. So I changed my plan. As at present arranged, I go to Sofia (Bulgaria) from Istanbul and from thence to Belgrade and Zagreb.

I hope to hear from you when I am in Istanbul and from there I shall write to you again. For the present, au revoir. Best regards.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Pera Palas Oteli
Istanbul (Turquie)

Pera Palas Hotel
Istanbul
21.5.1934

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I arrived here on the 19th by aeroplane from Bucharest. I suddenly decided to come, because I felt that I would not be able to come this side again.

I had such a glorious expectation about Istanbul that I have been sadly disappointed. It gives one the impression of a state that is collapsing. There is not the romance of the East—nor is there the material prosperity of the West. But I hope that Angora [Ankara] is different. After all, the new state of Turkey is symbolized not in Constantinople but in Angora.

I intend visiting Angora and then return to Vienna via Sofia and Belgrade—breaking journey at these two places. I am afraid that my return to Vienna is being delayed.

And what are your plans? How long will you be in Vienna? Please drop me a line to the above address.

Best regards.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Grand Hotel
Bulgaria
Sofia – Bulgaria

Sofia, Le....29.5.1934

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I arrived here on Wednesday last from Istanbul. I spent a busy week here. I like Sofia—it is a nice town and not dirty like Istanbul. The people are also very sympathetic.

I am leaving for Belgrade tonight and my address there will be:

Hotel Srbski Kralj
Belgrade.

I shall be there for about a week. I have not had any letters from you since I left Budapest.

Enclosed please find a receipt for your letter which was duly posted at Budapest. Best regards.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Hotel Srbski Kralj
Belgrade
3.6.1934
Sunday

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I arrived here on Wednesday last from Sofia. Both at Sofia and here, I have had an interesting time. I find the Balkan countries very interesting.

I leave for Zagreb on the 6th morning and stay there for 4 or 5 days at *Hotel Esplanade, Zagreb*. From there, I come to Vienna. If you have any friends at Zagreb, you could introduce me to them.

Where and how is President Vetter now? When is he returning to Vienna? Did he have an interesting time on the Dalmatian coast? And what are your plans? How long do you stay there?

I am afraid that my post has been miscarried, because I have not heard from you since I left Budapest.

Hope this will find you quite well. Has Miss Vetter returned from London? Best regards.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Ajit Kumar Dey

c/o American Express Co.
Vienna
12.6.1934

My dear Ajit Babu,

I was very glad to receive your kind letter of the 17th May, along with some lines from Prabhudayal. I am taking the earliest opportunity of sending a message for Bhola Nath Dutt. If you pass it,

please hand it over to him. At the moment, I cannot decide for myself as to whether the message is of the right sort. If it is not happily worded please send a draft for me or give me some idea as to what I should write.

I shall be staying in Vienna till the end of July. My physician says that there has been great improvement during the last year, but treatment has still to continue for some months.

I am glad to know that Ami has passed in the first division. I hope he will take up the B.Sc. course and will not make the mistake of switching on to B.A.

Please give my compliments and greetings to Prabhudayal Babu and accept same yourself. I have had a long tour during the last 2 months and have been to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, etc. Kindest regards for Mrs Dey and pronams to your parents.

Yours affectionately

Subhas

To Satyendra Nath Majumdar*

c/o American Express Co.
Vienna
5.7.34

Mr Satyendra Nath Majumdar

Dear Friend,

I have not been able to write to you for quite a long time, please forgive me for that. After touring many countries for nearly three months, I returned here three weeks ago. I shall be here till the end of August. Although my health is better than in the past, I have not been able to recover as yet. Even now I get abdominal pain from time to time. So for the next two or three months I shall go

* Translated from the original Bengali

the whole hog for treatment. For the past one week I am having short-wave therapy—other treatments are also going on side by side, but I have not so far benefitted much.

I feel like talking and writing about the situation in the country, but being so far away it is not easy to express one's views. For the present I shall desist from the attempt.

I am now writing a book about the events of the period 1920–33. It will be published in London and I have got a good publisher. Is there any book on the events of that period? I do not remember well all the events and dates—that is why I am feeling the need of one or two books. If you can mention some titles I shall be happy. I hope all of you are keeping well. How much further will the quarrels in the Corporation go? What are the Congress workers of the countryside doing? Why cannot they revolt? Let me stop here. Please accept my affectionate greetings.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To A.C.N. Nambiar

Peter Jordan Str. 28/1
Wien XIX
10.7.34

My dear Nambiar,

I cannot account for your long silence. I wrote to you the other day from the above address. I shall be staying here till the end of August. I have to take a course of treatment (short- wave therapy) here and also to write a book for a London publisher on the events in India from 1920–33. I have therefore taken a flat at the above address, together with an Indian friend.

A friend from Punjab, Mr Sher Singh, is going to Prague

tomorrow morning. I have asked him to send a telegram to you in my name asking you to meet him at the station. He will arrive tomorrow at 1 p.m. there. I have asked him to stay at the Palace Hotel. He will be there only for one day.

Two requests have come from Dresden friends—one from Mr S.C. Roy and the other from Mr Chatterji.

1) *Re. Mr S.C. Roy* (Engineering)
He is a student of Engineering at Dresden. He wants to get into a cotton mill and afterwards into an artificial silk mill as an apprentice. Czechoslovakia is very advanced in textile industry. Can you therefore arrange for this. In any case please write to Mr Roy. His address is—Mr S.C. Roy, Nurnberger Str. 31, Dresden A. 24.
2) *Re. Mr N.C. Chatterji* (Physics)
He was getting a stipend from the Deutsche Academy of Munich. He passed the M.Sc. in India and was preparing for the Ph.D. at Dresden. His Professor, Dr D . . . [illegible], was sacked because he was a Jew and the new Professor Dr Tomaschek [?] has rejected his former work and wants him to begin research de novo. This will mean that he will have to stay in Dresden for at least 1½ years longer. Besides his stipend from the Deutsche Academy has come to an end.
   (1) Can he get facilities for study and research in Prague?
   (2) Is there any chance of getting anything like a stipend, or free tuition or free boarding or free lodging. Mr Chatterji is a very nice man. His address is: N.C. Chatterji, Lindenan Str. 32/1, Dresden.

Please attend to these two matters at your earliest convenience.

When I was in Prague last, I asked you to order for seven copies (six for me and one for Dr Sharma) of my photograph and I think I left 150 Kr with you for my six copies. What have you done about them?

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To V. Lesny

Peter Jordan Strasse 28/1
Wien XIX
25.7.34

My dear Professor,

Several Indian students from Germany have been making enquiries about Prague. They have already written to you I think. At every place in Germany that I visited, I had spoken about our Society in Prague and had given your address. Recently, three students from Dresden have written to me that they would like to go to Prague. I think they have already written to you or to Mr Nambiar. All of them are good boys.

(1) Mr Chatterji M.Sc. of Calcutta wants to take a doctorate in Physics. He was formerly getting a scholarship from the Deutsche Academy of Munich which has now been stopped.

(2) Mr K.P. Jha of Dresden wants to take the Doctorate at Prague in Mechanical Engineering. He has been studying for 3 years in Germany. I met him in Dresden and I am glad to say that he is an exceedingly well-behaved boy and industrious. Till recently he had been getting a scholarship from the Maharaja of Darbhanga which has now been stopped. He wants free tuition and free lodging.

(3) Mr S.C. Roy of Dresden has been studying Engineering. He now wants *practical training as an unpaid apprentice* in a textile mill and in an artificial-silk mill in Czechoslovakia. Even if he cannot get into an artificial-silk mill, he would like to get into a cotton mill. As Czechoslovakia is full of textile mills, I think there should not be any difficulty in finding a place for him as an unpaid apprentice.

I shall not take more of your valuable time. I do hope you will be able to do something for our boys.

Where do you intend spending August and September? I shall be staying at the above address till the end of August.

Kindest regards

I am

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

Prof Dr Lesny
Prague

To Satyendra Chandra Mitra

c/o American Express Co.
Vienna
25.7.1934

My dear Satyen Babu,

Your kind letter of the 6th was to hand duly. What can I do to help you? I have no party now which I can call my own and I do not think that my voice carries weight with anyone in Bengal today. I am too conscious of my position—but I do not care. I am content to serve my country in my own way and to the best of my ability—even if I am alone in this wide world. There is nothing to choose between the two parties in Calcutta that are now fighting for crumbs. Alas! if I had known this in 1929—I would have been saved much trouble.

I do not think my voice carries weight with Akhil Babu either. You know Akhil Babu quite well. It is very difficult to persuade him, once he makes up his mind. Even Deshbandhu could not persuade him in 1923—when he suggested that Akhil Babu should go to the Assembly.

I think very highly of your work in the Assembly on behalf of the political prisoners of Bengal. May God bless you for that!

I would do anything to help you—but I do not want to have

anything to do with the wretched party-politics of Calcutta. In the circumstances, I am afraid you will have to be content with the sincerest wishes of a sincere friend.

Please convey my regards to Mrs Mitra and accept my warmest love. How big has your girl grown by now?

My health is much better than before but I cannot get a radical cure—the pain suddenly recurs from time to time and no one can explain it. I am again thinking of an operation to get rid of the pain once for all.

In my leisure moments I have been writing a book for a London publisher on the events of the last 14 years in India. The book will be finished in August.

Yours affectionately

Subhas C. Bose

PS Babu Priyanath Sen of Dacca has also written to me for supporting his candidature. I have replied to him in the same strain.

To Rabindra Nath Tagore*

c/o American Express Company
Vienna
3 August 1934

Revered Sir,

I am troubling you for a special reason; I hope you will forgive me for this.

I am writing a book at present, at the request of a publisher in London. The subject of the book is *The Indian Struggle, 1920–34.* The publishers are Wishart and Company, 9 John Street, Adelphi, London WC2. I shall finish writing before the end of August and the book will be published before the end of October. Right at the

* Translated from the original Bengali

time when the report of the Joint Select Committee will be released to the public, my book also will see the light of day. The book will begin with a chapter entitled 'Historical Background' and at the end there will be a chapter on 'Coming Events.' The publishers expect a very large sale in England and America and they are also trying for German and French translations. I now want a foreword to my book from some outstanding English writer.

I shall personally be very happy and thankful if I can get a few lines from the pen of Bernard Shaw. You may possibly be able to help in the matter. I shall deem it a great favour if you would write to Mr Bernard Shaw in this regard. But I should not like to make the request, if you feel in any way disinclined or embarrassed to do so. And if you decide to write to him, kindly write in such a way that it may lead to positive results. There is no point in writing just to keep my request. When I was coming to Europe, you had kindly given me a letter of introduction to Mon. Romain Rolland, but that letter of introduction was written as if only to honour my request. I was therefore not able to make proper use of that letter and started correspondence with Mon. Rolland on my own. Mr Bernard Shaw probably knows nothing about me; so, it will be necessary to write to him in the proper way.

I am confident that my book will have a good reception because the publishers have entered into an advance contract with me and I have started writing after receiving money on royalty account.

With pronams.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas

To Naomi C. Vetter

Peter Jordan Str. 28/1
Wien XIV
14.8.1934

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I was very glad to receive your card on the l0th inst. I hope you

had a nice and interesting time on the mountains. What are your next plans?

I have hardly anything new to write. I am sending under separate cover a copy of the *Times* which may interest you.

I am getting on with my work but do not feel satisfied with the quality of the stuff I am producing. But there is no help. After August I may go to Karlsbad for a cure. At present I am taking a course of ultra-violet treatment. (I have stopped 'short-wave' treatment on the advice of Professor Neumann.) If this does not help me, I must go to Karlsbad for a cure or try an operation here—and I prefer the former.

The weather is not sunny here. It is generally cloudy and sometimes rains. Best regards.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Ajit Kumar Dey

c/o American Express Co.
Vienna
29.8.34

My dear Ajit Babu,

I was in receipt of your letter of the 12th July some time ago.

I am going to give you some trouble for a personal affair of mine. Probably you know that I am now engaged in writing a book on the Indian struggle. My publishers in London want some photographs for that work. In the first place they want, if possible, a photograph of myself in uniform as the Head of the Volunteers.

Such a photo was reproduced in a 'special number' of *Forward* or *Liberty* in 1928 or 1929. If you could find out this number and

send it to me, I should be very thankful. Probably Gopal Sanyal may be able to find out this number—but I do not want to put him into expense on my account. *Liberty* was started in May (?) 1929 and the photo in question was taken in December 1928. So the reproduction in the special number of *Forward* or *Liberty* must have taken place in December 1928 or in 1929.

There was another photo (large size) of mine in uniform at the Congress office. This photo was taken on horseback. If you could see this picture and have a photographic reproduction taken of it and sent to me—I should be grateful. This picture was better than the other one. But the original in the Congress office being too big—a photographic reproduction will have to be taken.

I have already written to Asoke to try and send me some photos of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr C.R. Das and other prominent leaders like Lalaji, Pandit Motilal etc. If you could also help in processing and sending these, I shall be very glad. When I wrote to Asoke I did not know that the publishers would want a photograph of myself as well—so I did not write to him about it. However, I shall be satisfied if you could do something about my photo.

As the book will be out in October, you must send me the photos by airmail, to reach me before the end of September. If you get the special number of *Forward* or *Liberty*—please cut out the page in question, pack it carefully and send it by airmail. It is not necessary to send the entire magazine by airmail.

Even if you cannot do anything at all about the photos, please write to me by airmail—as I shall remain in suspense. I am sorry to give you this trouble—which is quite out of your line, but I feel that if I write to you, something will be done.

Regarding my health, I am much better than before—but the internal pain is still persisting. I am afraid I shall have to undergo an operation after all—in November. Before that, I want to go to Karlsbad in Czechoslovakia and take the water-treatment there for one month. The natural springs of Karlsbad are supposed to be very good for abdominal and intestinal trouble. I have arranged to leave for Karlsbad on the 2nd September. Nevertheless, please write to me c/o the American Express Company, Vienna.

Please give my warmest compliments to Prabhudayal Babu and

my pronams to your dear parents. My kindest regards to Mrs Dey and love to Reba.

Yours affectionately

Subhas

PS How do you find Asoke? What about Mejdada's election?

S.C.B.

PPS Regarding a good photo of Mr C.R. Das, let Asoke consult Mrs Das. She may be able to give a good one.

To A.C.N. Nambiar

[postcard]
Poste Restante
Karlsbad
6.9.34

I arrived here on Sunday last. Am trying a boarding house in Schlossberg and shall stay for one month if I find it suitable—otherwise I change to some other place. Meanwhile please write to the above address.

I did not receive any invitation from the Philosophical Congress though Prof Lesny wrote that they were inviting.

S.C. Bose

Herrn A.C. Nambiar
Cestimirova 863/V
Prag XIII
CSR

To Naomi C. Vetter

Kurhaus Koinigin Alexandra
Schossberg
Karlsbad
or c/o Poste Restante
Karlsbad
C.S.R.
24.9.34

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I am sorry I have not written to you since disappearing from Vienna. When I first came here the weather was glorious and the air very fresh and I enjoyed it immensely. During the last few days the weather has been cloudy, but today it has cleared up again. I like the natural surroundings of the place very much because in half an hour or one hour, you can climb a hill and breathe fresh air. But it must be an awful place in summer with so many people in the streets, reminding you of one of the big cities. From that point of view, it is much better for me now and less people to stare at a stranger in outlandish dress—as I am.

I am sorry to say that I have not yet been able to finish the book and have felt worried. I got an extension of time till the end of this month and I must finish by any means. After the 30th September, I shall breathe more freely.

How have you been feeling since returning to Vienna? And how is Dr Vetter? I was glad to find that both of you were looking ever so much better after your trip to the mountains.

The pictures you sent were so nice that I think that if I stay till next summer in Europe I must go to South Austria and see the glaciers. I would so much love to see them because it [is] next to impossible for me to see the Himalayan glaciers.

Sometimes I long to go back home, but I am not yet fit from the point of view of my health and besides they will not spare me when I land. My brother is still in internment, much to the distress of our family.

Regarding my plans I intend staying here for some weeks more. After that I return to Vienna again. And in all probability I shall submit to the knife. I do not know where I shall spend winter. I wish I could go somewhere south where I could get the sun. But before I go, I must come to grips with my surgeon.

Hope this will find all of you doing quite well. With very best regards.

I am

Ever yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Satyendra Chandra Mitra*

c/o American Express Co.
Vienna
Karlsbad
18.10.34

My dear Satyen Babu,

Your letter of the 3rd was to hand on the 16th instant. You have asked for so little from me—and yet I cannot satisfy you—though I wish I could have done more, much more, for you.

The best thing would probably have been not to reply at all—but, I always believe in frankness, even when that frankness alienates friends.

I have no faith in the Working Committee dominated by the satellites of Mahatma Gandhi. I have even less faith in the Parliamentary Board, the prominent members of which shirked their duty when the country was passing through a crisis in 1932–33. I have no sympathy, whatsoever, for those erstwhile colleagues of mine who have dragged in Mahatma Gandhi once again into the

* This letter was marked: 'Not for publication.' Ed.

politics of Bengal to strengthen their own position. Last but not least, I am ashamed to have anything to do with a party that sets up Sj. Nalini Sarkar as the Mayor of Calcutta on the strength of European support.

I love you as a dear friend, I am grateful to you for what you have done for those important people who suffer so much and who have very few friends in this world. I honour you as a patriot. But how can I help you? I have no confidence in the machinery that has set you up as a candidate—and I doubt if they would have set you up if they had been able to get Akhil Babu. I deplore the circumstances which have produced a contest between Akhil Babu and yourself. But I feel quite helpless. How can I separate you from the machinery that has set you up?

Satyen Babu, I know I stand quite isolated today—but I am not sorry for that. I shall continue to say and to do what I consider right, even if that brings upon me untold suffering and unpopularity.

I cannot accept—nor can I understand—this attitude of 'don't accept, don't reject' towards the Communal Award. The party of Dr B.C. Roy has done incalculable disservice to Bengal by supporting Mahatma Gandhi on this question. Bengal should have been quite united on this question.

I have written strongly because I feel strongly; I have spoken bluntly because I am a plain, blunt man who has the courage to call a spade a spade. I shall continue to fight and stand for Bengal and for the best interests of India, even if I am an inglorious minority of one. I am sorry I cannot help you in your present difficulty but I am sure you will appreciate my position and excuse me. I hope the day will come when under different circumstances, I shall demonstrate that I am really a friend of yours—not a time-server friend but a real friend.

Please accept my Bijoya love and embraces.

Yours affectionately

Subhas C. Bose

Satyen C. Mitra Esq.

To V. Lesny

Karlsbad
1.11.34

Prof Dr Lesny
Zborovska 66
Praha XVI

My dear Professor,

I am leaving for Vienna tomorrow (Friday) morning and shall break journey at Prague for a few hours. I arrive in the afternoon and again take the night train for Vienna. If you have time, I would like to meet you in the late afternoon or in the evening. My train is at 10 p.m. and any time after 6 p.m. would suit me. I am writing to Mr Nambiar to fix up an appointment with you.

Please do not make any arrangements for dinner, as you very kindly do whenever I am in Prague. I have some other engagements and moreover I am eating something very light in the evening nowadays. I shall be glad to have a talk with you, when we could discuss matters concerning the Indo-Czechoslovak Society and other topics of common interest.

Best regards

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

CENSORED AND PASSED
Illegible
10/12
For D.C.S.B.

38/2 Elgin Road
or
1 Woodburn Park
Calcutta
7.12.34

Dear Mrs Vetter,

I arrived here on the 4th December, having left Vienna on the 29th November. But I arrived too late. My father left this world on the 2nd December at about midnight i.e. about 40 hours before I arrived.

The journey by air was quite interesting and I would have enjoyed it—but for the mental anxiety which was haunting me all the time. The sunrise views on some mornings were simply gorgeous. The bright and variegated colours of an Oriental sunrise are unknown in the West and the charm was heightened by our climbing up high into the sky. Most of the distance we flew at a level of 2000 metres and the jolting was very little. We experienced discomfort only while climbing up or down. The noise, as also the atmospheric pressure, also caused discomfort to the ears. Nevertheless, on the whole, the journey was not at all bad.

I do not know if I shall be able to keep up correspondence with you in future. At present I am living as a prisoner in our house. The order of 'Home-internment,' as it is called in India—was served on me the moment I alighted from the plane. I am allowed to stay with my mother for one week for the present. I do not know what order will be served on me on the expiry of this week. (x x x x x x x x x x – 2 lines deleted by the Censor) I may not be able to write to you again. In that case, you will please not misunderstand me.

I cannot thank you sufficiently for your kindness during my

stay in Vienna. Please convey my best regards to President Vetter and accept same yourself.

My mother is utterly disconsolate. We, brothers and sisters, are trying our best to console her but to no purpose. The life of a Hindu wife is so bound up with that of her husband that life becomes unbearable to her in his absence. Life in Europe is somewhat different.

My home address is 38/2 Elgin Road or 1 Woodburn Park. At present I am staying at the former address with my mother.

With grateful thanks and kindest regards once again.

I am

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To V. Lesny*

Pension Cosmopolite
Alserstrasse 23
Vienna VIII
2 January 1935

My dear Prof. Lesny,

I was glad to receive your letter some time ago and beg to give my best thanks for the same. I am very glad to hear that you intend celebrating the 75th birthday anniversary of our poet.[1] I hope the function will be a success. Meanwhile I have sent as a presentation to the Indo-Czechoslovak Society—four books of the poet in English.

* This letter was typed in Bose's absence by Emilie Schenkl.
[1] 'Our poet' is, of course, Rabindranath Tagore.

Assuring you of my warmest esteem and with best wishes for the New Year.

I am

Yours v. sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

CENSORED AND PASSED
Illegible
9/1
For D.C.S.B.

38/2 Elgin Road
Calcutta
8 January 1935

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I was in due receipt of all your kind letters and have read their contents. I thank you very much for the same.

You may be surprised to learn that I am leaving for Bombay today, en route to Europe. I shall catch the boat at Bombay on the 10th January (M.V. *Victoria* of the Lloyd Triestino Company). I shall arrive at Genoa (Italy) on the 21st January—that is, after a voyage of eleven days.

There has been an aggravation of my trouble since coming here and I shall have to undergo an operation.

x x x x x x x x x x x x (deleted by Censor) x x x x x x x x x x x x

Please inform all friends there about my departure. I hope this airmail letter will reach you before I land in Genoa. Please inform Mrs Fülop Miller and kindly tell her that I have received all her letters. I am not writing to her separately and I hope she will not mind it.

Best regards to President Vetter and good self.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Albergo Palazzo and Ambasciatori
Roma
23.1.1935

Frau President Vetter
Wahringer Str. 41
Wien – IX
(Autriche)

Mr dear Mrs Vetter,

I hope you have received my airmail letter from India written on the day that I left Calcutta. I landed at Naples on the 20th and at once dropped a card to Dr Katyar asking him to inform friends there about my arrival. I arrived here from Naples last night. I intend stopping here for 2 or 3 days and then proceeding to Vienna. How is the weather there now? We had awful snow at Naples—fancy! It snowed here yesterday also, but not so much. Today we have bright sunny weather. Really, the Eternal City is marvellous. The Calcutta Police were worried because they could not read your name in your letters. I had to decipher it for them. Best regards for both of you.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

PS It may be that I shall have to stop here longer than 2 or 3 days.

To C.R. Pruefer

Hotel De France
Wien 1
Schottenring 3
2 February 1935

Herrn Dr Curt Pruefer
Auswartiges Amt.
Wilhelmstrasse 75
Berlin

Dear Dr Pruefer,

I have just published a book on the Indian movement entitled 'The Indian Struggle 1920–34.' It has been published in London by Wishart & Co. The book has been very favourably reviewed by the English Press and has been described as the best book on India by an Indian politician. I think that the book would be interesting for German readers as well and that a German translation of the book would be desirable. Could you possibly introduce the book to some German Publishing House with a view to having a German translation of the book published by them?

I am asking my publishers to send you a copy of the book. Meanwhile I am sending you a notice which gives you the contents of the book.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble and awaiting the favour of an early reply.

I am

Yours very truly

Subhas C. Bose

✉

To E. Woods

Hotel de France
Schottenring 3
Vienna 1
4 February 1935

Dear Mrs Woods,

I returned to Europe about a fortnight ago and to Vienna about a week ago. On arriving here, I received your letter dated the 5th January. I cannot thank you sufficiently for the kindest sympathy you have conveyed in your letter.

I am sorry to say that though my health has improved, it is still far from satisfactory. I am now trying to get well as soon as possible. I need hardly add that I am looking forward to a visit to Ireland as soon as I am well enough.

Where and how is Madame MacBride? Please convey my best regards to her. My brother Sarat (who is still interned) who met Madame MacBride in Paris asked me to convey his best regards to her. Though severe restrictions were imposed on me during my stay in India, I was allowed to stay at home and meet the members of my family.

Please let me have a line to say how the work of the Indo-Irish League is going on.

With best regards

I am

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

✉

To J.T. Sunderland

Hotel de France
Schottenring 3
Vienna I
12 February 1935

Dr J.T. Sunderland
1510 Cambridge Road
Ann Arbor
Michigan

My dear Dr Sunderland,

You will be interested to learn that I have just published a book on the Indian political movement called 'The Indian Struggle, 1920–34.' It has been written from the point of view of a Left-Wing Nationalist. To my pleasant surprise the book has been favourably reviewed by even the English Press. I am asking my publishers in London to send you a copy of the book and shall be greatly obliged if you will be so good as to accept it.

Assuring you of my deepest esteem.
I am

Yours respectfully

Subhas C. Bose

From Romain Rolland

Villeneuve (Vaud)
Villa Olga
22 February 1935

Dear Mr Subhas C. Bose,

I duly received your volume 'The Indian Struggle 1920–34', which you were good enough to send me. I thank you for it and congratu-

late you heartily on it. So interesting seemed the book to us that I ordered another copy so that my wife and sister should have one each. It is an indispensable work for the history of the Indian Movement. In it you show the best qualities of the historian: lucidity and high equity of mind. Rarely it happens that a man of action as you are is apt to judge without party spirit.

We, the men of thought, must each of us fight against the temptation, that befalls us in moments of fatigue and unsettledness, of repairing to a world beyond the battle called either God, or Art, or independence of Spirit, or those distant regions of the mystic soul. But fight we must, our duty lies on this side of the ocean, on the battleground of men . . .

I sincerely wish that your health will speedily recover for the good of India that is in need of you and I beg you to believe in my cordial sympathy.

Romain Rolland

To Amiya Chakravarti

Vienna XVIII
Cottage Gasse 21
7 March 1935

Dear Professor Chakravarti,

After my arrival in Rome, the first person I heard of was you. Initially I was a little surprised to learn that you had come to Europe. I was glad that you presided over the conference of Indian students here.

I have met Dr Selig and have had a discussion with him. I invited him to tea one day; I shall have an extensive discussion another day. I felt happy to have talked with him because there is depth in his thinking. He first wrote to me (enclosing your letter with it); thereafter one day I was introduced to him and met him at a meeting here. (Some days ago I spoke at a public meeting of the women's society here on 'India's Women.')

The comments that you have made about my book have made

me happy beyond measure. M. Romain Rolland has also written a beautiful letter to me.

I was somewhat surprised that you left 'Santiniketan.' However, I think no tree can attain great heights under the shadow of another. At least that is what I feel when I see the disciples of Mahatma Gandhi. That is why Swami Vivekananda did not keep his own disciples around himself for long. Let us leave it there.

How long will you be there? What is the subject of the book you are writing?

With my regards and affectionate greetings.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

c/o American Express Co.
Geneva
21.3.1935

Frau N.C. Vetter
Wahringer Str. 41
Wien – IX
(Autriche)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

Just a line to inform you that I arrived here safe this noon. The memorial ceremony takes place tomorrow. I am glad that I came.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

c/o American Express Co.
Geneva
25.3.1935

Mrs N.C. Vetter
Wahringer Str. 41
Wien IX
(Autriche)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I hastily wrote a line to you the day I arrived.

The ceremony here passed off successfully. It would have been a pity if I had not come, because that would have caused great disappointment. I shall linger on a few days more here—to see old places and old faces and then return to Vienna.

The journey to Geneva—was very interesting especially when we were passing through Tyrol. If I can manage, I shall stop a day or two at Innsbruck and Salzburg.

Have you been able to commence study of that subject?

Hope this will find you all quite well. Best regards.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Hotel Suisse
Geneva
29.3.1935

My dear Mrs Vetter,

Your kind letter of the 24th March was to hand yesterday. I was interested also to read the enclosure sent by Dr V.

I am enclosing herewith an airmail letter from the most important non-official news-agency in India. I have marked in red the relevant parts of the letter. You will find that propaganda re the film *Bengali* has already been started in India and even the legislature has been stirred. (Of course, the Legislature has no real power to force the hands of the Govt.).

Would it be possible for you or for any other friend to collect there information they want? As you will see in the letter, they want—

a) the film—story
b) pictures, giving the most objectionable scenes.

Of course I shall pay for the cost of the pictures.

Ananda Bazar is the most widely read paper (daily, in the Bengali language) in Calcutta and the province of Bengal.

Please keep the enclosed letter with you for the present.

I shall have to stay here for another week or so.

Best regards to Dr Vetter and your good self.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Regina Palast Hotel
München
8.4.1935

Frau N.C. Vetter
Wahringer Str. 41
Wien – IX
(Öesterreich)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I arrived here last night after making a brief halt at Zürich. I shall

be halting a few days here and shall proceed to Vienna thereafter. I hope I shall not make any more stops but I am not quite sure of Salzburg.

I hope you have received my last letter in which I enclosed a letter from India about the film *Bengali.*

I had a very interesting talk with Mon. Romain Rolland before I left Geneva.

With best regards.

I am

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To A.K. Fazlul Huq

Sanatorium Rudolfinerhaus
Billroth Strasse
Vienna
10 May 1935

Dear Mr Fazlul Huq,

I understand from the *London Times* that you have been elected the Mayor of our city. Your election was long overdue—but better late than never. I am sure that a successful tenure of office awaits you and that under your Mayoralty the different communities in Calcutta will be drawn closer together as a result of which, we shall see more of team work within the Corporation itself. Please accept the warmest felicitations from one who is at the moment thousands of miles away but who is nevertheless with you in spirit.

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Rudolfinerhaus
15.5.1935

Frau Dr N.C. Vetter
Wien – IX
Wahringer Str. 4

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I do hope that since I got your last letter you have made progress towards recovery. I am leaving this place tomorrow and I am going to Sanatorium Westend, Purkersdorf b/Wien. I have been making steady though rather slow progress. At present I am able to walk about a little with the help of an abdominal belt. The old pain seems to have disappeared but I am not yet free from the post-operative discomforts in the abdominal region. This will probably take some time. I wish you a speedy recovery with all my heart.
With best regards.
I am

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Kurhaus Konigin Alexandra
Karlsbad
17.6.1935

Frau N.C. Vetter
Wien – IX
Wahringer Str. 41
(Öesterreich)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I arrived here last night from Vienna. Mrs Nehru stood the journey

fairly well up to Prague. From Prague I took a different train and Dr Katyar proceeded with her to Berlin. Prof. Lesny of the Indo-Czech Society came to the station to meet her. I spent three hours in his company and then started for Karlsbad. Last night, for the first time after my operation, I slept without a break for about seven hours. A good beginning—I hope. It is cool here now—after the unpleasant heat of Vienna. It is not so crowded here as one would expect here at this time of the year.

How did Dr Vetter enjoy his outing the other night? Best regards for both.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Kurhaus Konigin Alexandra
Karlsbad
21.6.1935

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I was very glad to receive your letter of the 18th June.

Re *Bengali*, I sent a reminder while I was in Vienna. His secretary wrote back to say that the master had written to the proper authorities but had not received any reply and I could correspond direct with those authorities if I desired. That was the end!

I am sorry to hear that only the frogs were there to welcome Dr Vetter on that gloomy and windy night.

You were telling me about the book on Kossuth. Can you write an article for an English (nationalist) magazine published in India? It would interest our readers.

I am enclosing herewith a letter which I have to send in French. Could you please translate it for me? You may remember that you translated Professor Nasch's letter for me.

The weather continues to be agreeable here. How is it there?

If you feel well enough and have sufficient time in hand, you may write a short exposé giving the views of Professor Hauer.

With best regards.

I am

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Karlsbad
Kurhaus Konigin Alexandra
27.6.1935

Frau N.C. Vetter
Wien – IX
Wahringer Str. 41
(Öesterreich)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I hope you have received my last letter duly. An Indian gentleman, Mr Gokulchand (GOKUL-CHAND), desires his wife to be examined (and treated if necessary) by Dozent Pillat. He wants to be introduced to the Dozent. Kindly telephone to Dozent Pillat and inform him that a friend of mine will be consulting him in connection with his wife's eye trouble. I have thought it proper to recommend Dr Pillat to this gentleman and hope that you will also agree. This gentleman is at present in Vienna.

It is getting warm—rather hot—here. How is it there? I am afraid I cannot take kindly to hot weather. Best regards.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Kurhaus Konigin Alexandra
Karlsbad
8.7.1935

Frau N.C. Vetter
Wien – IX
Wahringer Str. 41
(Öesterreich)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I was in due receipt of your kind letter of the 26th June along with the French translation. Many thanks.

I have received a long and interesting letter from Mrs Hargrove who is now in Tyrol. Incidentally, she says that you might pay a visit to Hofgastein where she will be coming after some days.

How are you all doing? With best regards.

I am

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Amiya Chakravarti*

23 July 1935

My dear Mr Chakravarti,

I was happy to receive a postcard from you and Professor Lesny. I am very grateful that you took the trouble to come here. It was a great pleasure for me to have had the opportunity to spend two or three days and in getting intimately acquainted with you. I hope you will write to me from time to time.

* Translated from the original Bengali.

When you once visited England, there were some learned men who thought that it was a mistake to believe that the kind of change in the life of a human being represented by childhood, youth and old age was repeated in the life of a nation. Can you suggest any book on the subject to me? My own belief is, that in the life of a nation also there is childhood, youth and old age. Therefore, I am very anxious to read the opposite view and arguments.

Today I read H.G. Wells' *The New America; the New World.* Have you read it?

I haven't yet sent any letters to London. Please let me know about your movements and address.

As ever yours

Subhas C. Bose

To E. Woods

Kurhaus Konigin Alexandra
Karlsbad
(Czechoslovakia)
24 July 1935

Mrs M.E. Woods
131, Morehampton Road
Donneybrook
Dublin

Dear Mrs Woods,

I am sorry I have not written to you for several months. In December I was in India, then I was back again in Europe in January. Towards the end of April I had an operation and am now in Karlsbad for a course of treatment. I hope to be here for some time more.

A friend of mine, Mr Chaliha, who has been working for the Indian National Congress since 1920 came to see me the other day and expressed a desire to visit Dublin.

I have given him your address and have asked him to get in touch with you. Mr Chaliha is a very nice man and has been several times in prison. He has special knowledge of the opium evil which, you may be aware, is one of the 'benefits' of benign British rule. I should like Mr Chaliha to see something of new Ireland and meet some of the people who have been working for Irish freedom. You should also tell him something about the work of the Indo-Irish League.

Please let me have the latest news of yourself and of Madame McBride.

With regards.

I am

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik*

Kurhaus Koenigin Alexandra
Karlsbad
(Czechoslovakia)
5.8.35

My dear Sunil,

I duly received your two letters, one in February and the other in June. Please do not mind that I was not able to reply.

It is now more than a month since I came here—after the operation. My health is better than before, but there is weakness inside (in the area of the operation) and as a result there is pain from time to time. The old pain is no longer there, but digestion is still not satisfactory. One can say that on the whole my health is improving steadily.

You wrote the first letter in a way as if the third party will not

* Translated from the original Bengali

see it. You should remember that my letters cannot evade the eyes of the third party.

How is your health? What are you doing nowadays? And, how is everything at Murshidabad?

Recently I have been trying to write another book. The first book was received with such unexpected acclamation that I took up the project. I wish to write an extended history of our national movement, for outsiders.

You asked for a photograph—I am sending one herewith.

I shall return home as soon as I am completely cured, that is my desire.

You wrote to me that your father was unwell. Please let me know how he is now.

I hope you are well.

With love

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To J.T. Sunderland

Kurhaus Koenigin Alexandra
Karlsbad
(Czechoslovakia)
6 August 1935

My dear Dr Sunderland,

It is long since I had your letter of the 12th March. I am sorry for the delay in replying. I had a serious operation towards the end of April. At present my health is better than before—though far from satisfactory yet. I shall be staying in Europe for some months more. I am trying to write another book on India—a comprehensive story of our nationalist movement. Kindly let me know how your health is at present.

The new Constitution has been passed and it is going to be forced on India. A section of Congress men led by Mr Satyamurti of Madras want to work the Constitution in the Provinces. The Congress has not, however, considered the matter as yet. I am glad to know that you are definitely against the acceptance of the new Constitution.

With deepest regards

I am

Yours very sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Kurhaus Konigin
Alexandra
Karlsbad
17.8.1935

Frau N.C. Vetter
Wien – IX
Wahringer Str. 41
(Öesterreich)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I replied to your last letter in time and addressed it to your Tyrol address. Since then I have not heard from you. At first I thought you were having a rest and did not want to trouble you about your correspondence. Then Mrs Hargrove wrote to say that you had left for Vienna. Since then, several days have elapsed and there is still no news of you. I am anxious.

I have no special news to convey except that my brother has been released after a restraint of 3½ years. My health is fairly well

on the whole—only my work is not progressing. With best regards to Dr Vetter and yourself.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Karlsbad
6.9.1935

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I was in due receipt of your letter of the 27th August but I was sorry to note the attitude of mind you expressed. I do not understand why you should conclude that correspondence with you had no interest for me—though I have kept busy at times with my own work and other occasional worries. I had to undertake a long journey to Badgastein to meet some friends who were going home and who could not come over here to meet me. The last fortnight has brought an additional worry, since Mrs Nehru's condition has grown critical. After many telegrams had passed between Europe and India, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was released from prison two days ago. He will probably be flying to Europe to see his wife.

My stay here has done me good but I have not been able to get rid of the discomfort which appeared after the operation. Consequently I have to continue wearing the belt and avoiding strenuous exercise. I wrote to Professor Demel asking for his advice and he has replied saying that I should try the cure at 'Gastein.' While at Badgastein I had asked Mrs Hargrove to make some enquiries on my behalf about boarding-houses and I think I shall go to Hofgastein, rather than Badgastein. Tomorrow I am leaving for Badenweiler (Schwarzwald, Germany) to see Mrs Nehru. Possibly I shall meet Pandit Nehru there after a few days. From there I shall proceed to Hofgastein, but at present I do not know how long I shall have

to stay at Badenweiler. That depends entirely on Mrs Nehru's condition. My address there will be c/o *Post Lagernd, Badenweiler.*

Mrs Hargrove told me that you had a very interesting climb when you were there. I hope you are feeling much better as a result of the outing. How is Dr Vetter? With best regards for both.

I am

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Hofgastein
Post Lagernd
1.10.1935

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I am sorry I have not written to you so long. I received your kind letters—one at Badenweiler and the other the other day. I duly conveyed your message to Mrs Nehru again from here, conveying your message. I am sorry that she is not making good progress at all. The critical stage is of course over, but the symptoms of high fever, lung inflammation etc. continue. If the present symptoms unfortunately continue, she will ultimately succumb. However, there is some consolation in the fact that her husband is now with her. It is possible that I may visit her once again towards the end of this month. I am intending to undertake a long journey in Eastern Europe in the beginning of November. But as this matter is not yet settled, please treat this as confidential.

I am now taking the cure here and this will continue till the last week of this month. My work is not progressing well at all and at first it made me feel very unhappy. I am now trying to regain my normal health even at the expense of my present work—because

for my future life, my health is more important. After all, I came to Europe for the purpose of regaining my health. The only point is that if I do not finish my present work during my stay in Europe—I shall not find time when I am back in India.

I am very glad to know that my brother's speech gave you so much satisfaction. His interest in Vienna was first roused by my letters to the Calcutta Mayor which were reproduced in the press. Later on, he wrote to me for further information and I sent him the book in English about the Vienna Municipality (or rather, you sent the book on to him, I think). There is every chance that next year he will be elected as the Mayor—if only he cares for it. Up till now, he has preferred to be a back-bencher—avoiding public honour and office—because in his opinion, only wholetime public men should hold public office and accept the honour which goes with it. This week when I write to him, I shall mention what you have said about his speech and it will certainly give him great pleasure.

My future plans are not quite settled, except that I would like to go back home in February or March next. The annual Conference of the Nationalist Party (which is a big event in India) will meet in March and that is a very great attraction for me. Recently, there were some questions in the Indian Legislative Assembly about me. The Government said that there was no bar to my returning to India. (This I knew from the beginning.) They are, however, discreetly silent as to how they will treat me when I land in Bombay. If I feel sure that Government will straightaway send me to prison when I land, then I shall have to think seriously as to what I should do. Otherwise, I should go back home and . . .

In any case I hope to be in Vienna towards the end of this month. If I undertake the long journey eastwards, it will be for a month at most. After that I shall be coming back to Vienna—and then if my health permits, I intend doing some skiing.

How is your health and that of Dr Vetter? With best regards for both.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To V. Lesny

c/o Post Lagernd
Hofgastein (Austria)
2 October 1935

Professor Lesny
President, Indo-Czechoslovakian Society
Praha

Dear Professor,

I believe that the next meeting of your Society will take place shortly. This will probably be the inaugural meeting for the new session. For the occasion, may I send you a cordial message of sincere appreciation of the aims and objects of the Society and also of my warm congratulation on the success with which the Society is being run. While I must confess that the number of Indians genuinely interested in promoting international contacts was not formerly very large, it is a matter of gratification that every day more and more influential Indians are getting interested in the task of bringing India into direct and intimate contact with the progressive nations of the world. So far as I am concerned, you know that I have taken a special interest in the Indo-Czechoslovakian Society from the very beginning—one of the reasons being that your country has had a peculiar fascination for me. I do hope that when I am back in India next year, I shall be able to arouse more interest in your Society at the other end. Meanwhile, I can assure you and the members of your Society that your work is being closely followed by more and more Indians and I am confident that in the near future we shall witness the tangible results of such international contact to the mutual benefit of both our countries.

Assuring you always of my warmest esteem.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Jawaharlal Nehru

Post Lagernd
Hofgastein
4 October 1935

My dear Jawahar,

Your letters of the 2nd and 3rd instant are to hand.

I am very happy to read the report of the Freiburg Surgeon. I only hope that his medical science could give some aid to the patient to enable her to overcome the pleural trouble. I wonder if you asked his opinion about the possibility of removing Mrs Nehru to some other place. If I could be of any service in your present trouble, I hope you will not hesitate to send for me.

I am thankful to you for pointing out one of the errors in my book. It is quite possible, as you say, that there are several errors of fact—but I only hope that there are no serious errors. Unfortunately, I had to draw largely from my memory and especially in the matter of dates, I felt greatly handicapped. I could not get hold of any literature dealing with the period—nor was there anyone within reach who could come to my assistance. Regarding Pandit Motilalji's death, I remember that I taxed my brain for a long time in order to recall the exact date—but I failed. You will also find errors in printing (printer's devil) due partly to bad proof-reading. Only once could I read the proof—and parts of it too in a great hurry, because I had to leave for India soon. Moreover, the book itself was written under high pressure and at a time when I was none too well. I shall make a careful note of all the errors you point out, so that the necessary corrections could be made in the second edition.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter I addressed to the *Manchester Guardian*. It was published on the 1st October.

You have received by now the news that the war in Abyssinia

has begun. The only question that remains is whether it will develop into a war between England and Italy.

Yours affectionately

Subhas

To Naomi C. Vetter

Post Lagernd
Hofgastein
12.10.1935

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I hope you have duly received my last letter. The weather has been delightful here and on the 2nd of this month we had a good snowfall. I understand that it has been quite warm in Vienna. I am thinking of going to Russia towards the end of this month for a few weeks. Most probably I shall be passing through Vienna during the last week of this month. Please treat this matter as confidential because I am not yet sure that I shall be able to go.

The article on R.R. has been published in an Indian magazine but owing to the rigid press laws existing there, the Editor had to make several deletions which have somewhat destroyed the value of the article. But that could not be helped.

I have conveyed your message to Pandit Nehru. Mrs Nehru is much the same. The only consolation is that she is not worse.

You must have heard of the trouble through which Mrs Fülop Miller has been passing.

Best regards to Dr Vetter and your good self.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Park Hotel
München
25.10.1935

Frau N.C. Vetter
Wien – IX
Wahringer Str. 41
(Öesterreich)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I was very glad to receive your letter some days ago. I left Hofgastein two days ago. I am now here on my way to Badenweiler to meet Mrs Nehru. I shall be reaching Vienna on the 29th or 30th inst. and shall proceed on an eastward journey soon after. I hope to meet you during my short stay in Vienna. Best regards to Dr Vetter and yourself.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Dr Thierfelder*

American Express Company
Vienna – 1
Käerntnerring 14
7 November 1935

Dear Herr Doctor Thierfelder,

As desired by you, I am setting down in writing the content of our conversation, which we recently had in Munich. As you know, since my first visit to Germany in 1933, I have tried to improve relations

* Re-translated from the German version sent to Dr Thierfelder.

between Germany and nationalist India. Unfortunately, certain situations arose which affected this friendship in an adverse manner. In fact, the new regime, which achieved a lot of progress and improvement within Germany, contributed to a certain extent to the worsening of ties that had existed earlier between India and Germany. This is not the consequence of the general anti-Nazi campaign which under Jewish influence broke out in different parts of the world. On the contrary, Indians themselves feel that the atmosphere in Germany is less friendly towards them compared to the past. I have tried to explain clearly to prominent personalities in Germany what, in my view, could be the reasons for this attitude against India. The reasons are:

1) The present pro-British attitude of the German government.
2) The race-propaganda, which among the unintelligent people in Germany, promotes a general scorn against the coloured races.
3) A disdainful attitude towards contemporary India among the highest German leaders which is evident in their writings and reports.
4) The blocking or censor of pro-Indian articles and the wilful promotion of anti-Indian articles in the German media. I have many friends in Germany, and among them enthusiastic members of the National Socialist Party. While talking with them, I often express my opinion as to how our mutual relations could be improved. My suggestions are as follows:

1) A toning down of the race-propaganda, so that a negative opinion about Indians is not aroused by it.

2) An open report by one of the top-ranking leaders which will clearly represent the true attitude of the new Germany towards India.

3) A prohibition on anti-Indian propaganda in the German press. Even though I am tabling these proposals, I consciously avoid demanding anything which might be difficult to implement. For example, if a pro-British policy brings advantages to Germany, I

have no reason to demand an anti-British policy, though as Indians we would welcome any such German attitude or policy. Similarly, I do not demand that you give up your race theory, no matter how many scientific reasons we might offer against it. We only want it to be modified so that it wittingly or unwittingly, does not provoke any bad opinion about Indians. Moreover, we also do not wish for once that you write in favour of Indians in the German press if you do not want to—we only ask that you do not write against India.

This question of press propaganda is most important, because public opinion is moulded by it. Germany is an authoritarian state and, therefore, the press there is totally under the control of the Reich regime.

In contrast, the press in India is not under the strict control of the British government, nor under the thumb of any party. But still, it is possible for any German or any Indian friendly towards Germans to publish something positive about Germany in a popular Indian newspaper. In fact, it happens quite often that when something against the new German regime appears, in the very same issue, a refutation appears as well, either written by the German Consulate in India or by an Indian friendly towards Germany. But, in Germany, it is impossible at present to publish an article as refutation in the Germany newspapers—a refutation to all the anti-Indian articles. I say this from experience.

India will enter into a 'friendly relations' with Germany if Germany so wishes. And if so, it is necessary that she recognize the obstacles which have been placed on the way of Indo-German friendship and that she remove these without hesitation. Just offering empty words would not be enough. You would be pleased to know that recently the Foreign Office in a letter addressed to the 'Federation of Indian Students Abroad' said that steps would be taken to halt the anti-Indian propaganda in the German press. The letter (No. III C 3486 of the Foreign Office) contains the following lines, 'The race-relations political office of the NSDAP and the Reich ministry for Public Education and Propaganda have been informed about these complaints and they have consented to cooperate against any anti-Indian attacks in the press.' But nothing has been done in this direction, because we see that this propaganda

is continuing. At the beginning of this month, a newspaper of the standard of 'Frankfurter Zeitung' wrote a very important article in which it praised the new constitution for India. But the same has been condemned by each and every student of Indian politics.

Something more before I end. Many Indian students, who study in Germany, have complained that they are receiving no support to undergo practical training in German firms. In one instance, a German factory was ready to accept an Indian volunteer, but the Committee of the German government did not give the necessary permission. Till now, Germany exercised a strong pull on Indian students because they could, quite easily, apply for practical training in German factories. Now, if this benefit is no longer available, obviously the number of Indian students prepared to come to Germany will be sharply reduced. For those students who appealed to me for help, I tried to find openings in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Italy, and I achieved great success.

If steps are taken from your side to improve Indo-German relations, then—let me assure you—we too shall respond in a similar manner. We, nationalists, will do as much for Germany as Germans do for us Indians. It is clear that in the sphere of trade and economy as well as in press propaganda, India today, is more friendly towards Germany than Germany is towards India. We in India, in fact, have come to a point where we shall strive and wish for either an absolute improvement of our ties with Germany or its alternative, absolute worsening. It depends primarily on Germany to indicate the way we should take.

I am really happy to know that the German Academy offered financial help to Indian students. But, at the same time, I would like to observe that apart from those Indians who need financial help, there are many others who come on their own and who only desire to have the necessary help for their study and practical training when they are in Germany. The German Academy can also extend meaningful assistance to them by arranging benefits on a broader basis, specially in the sphere of practical training in factories.

Please let me know if you are in contact with the German-Orient

Association and if this Association could be of help to Indian students in offering facilities for practical training.

Should anything in this letter appear to be unclear, I beg to be excused. This letter is a translation and, so, it is quite possible that a few parts are unclear.

I extend my warmest esteem and remain.

Sincerely yours

Subhas C. Bose

To Santosh Kumar Basu

c/o American Express Company
Käerntnerring 14
Vienna 1
12 November 1935

My dear Santosh Babu,

I have been thinking for some time past of writing to you on one matter. I remember to have read some time ago in the papers that you presented on behalf of the Calcutta public an address of welcome to Swami Bon. Now I want to write to you something about this gentleman. He went to England to preach Hindu religion, being armed with letters of certificate from Lord Willingdon and high officials in India. He received a cordial welcome at the India office and for some time moved about in the company of die-hards. I think he ultimately formed a Committee to preach the Vaisnava religion with Lord Zetland as the Chairman. From the official circles in London he had the fullest sympathy and support, and the reason is not far to seek. A friend of his told me that when he was invited to a garden party in Buckingham Palace he assured His Majesty, King George V, that millions of his followers were loyal to the British Raj. This friend advised him not to tell the story to any Indian as it would certainly not be appreciated by them. When

this new Messiah had conquered Great Britain for the Vaisnava religion he sallied forth on a continental tour because nothing less than conquest of the whole world would satisfy him. And is he not greater than Vivekananda? I was at Munich the other day and was told by Indians there what a poor impression he had made. The India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie who had arranged the lecture will certainly not do it again. Some inspired statements were published in the Indian papers to the effect that Hitler wanted to consult him on the question of cultural intercourse between Germany and the East. There was no truth in the above statements and the German authorities were therefore very much annoyed at the publication. In fact, some Indians in Munich told me that owing to his tactless procedure, it will be difficult for any Indian to do religious preaching in Germany in the future. And apart from this, Germany is the last country in the world where Vaisnavism could make an appeal. Nazi Germany today believes only in force and looks down with contempt on enslaved nations like the Indians.

The Swami came to Vienna to preach his message. His meeting was attended by the British Ambassador—a very unusual procedure for a British diplomat—which further proved that even on the Continent he was being chaperoned by British diplomats. What I cannot understand for the life of me is why a Hindu Swami who has given up the world should go about preaching religion under the benign patronage of the British. If he has any message to preach, why cannot he do so in the manner in which Vivekananda did? You must have read in the Prabashi about his speech at a London meeting supporting the new constitution. The editor's comments thereon are fully justified. It appears therefrom that he is a political sanyasi, though his politics is loyalism.

I read in the papers that he had returned with two German disciples. I wonder who they are. Are they unemployed youths whom he has promised food and clothing? Or are they sentimental fools whose goodness he has exploited? Even in this matter-of-fact West, one does occasionally come across idealists, cranks, sentimentalists, and neurotics.

God help India and the Hindu religion if he is going to open a centre in London with the contribution of the Maharaja of

Tripura. If you want to hold up Hindu religion to ridicule in the eyes of the West you cannot do better than send out His Holiness, the Swami Bon as our religious Ambassador.

With kindest regards.

Yours very sincerely
Subhas C. Bose

To N.B. Saklatvala

c/o American Express Company
Käerntnerring 14
Vienna—1
15 November 1935

Ref. G.G.L. 252

Dear Sir N.B. Saklatvala,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 15th August 1935, though the contents caused me considerable surprise and pain. I am sorry for the delay in replying to your letter, due partly to the fact that I had been moving from place to place and partly to the fact that I thought it my duty to refer your letter to the Labour Association at Jamshedpur before I wrote to you again.

You have said that the Company have not pressed the Association for the arrears of rent as well as for current rent on certain tacit understanding. In your opinion that understanding has now been violated by the Labour Association and the concession should therefore be withdrawn. Granting for argument's sake that the understanding had been violated on our side, I fail to understand how the arrears of rent could be demanded for the period prior to the violation of the understanding. In my humble opinion such a procedure is altogether immoral and unworthy of a company like yours. You can at best withdraw the concession from the moment that the understanding was violated.

I shall now deal with your charge that the tacit understanding has been violated. You have been pleased to remark that the Association has now no longer any material existence and that no meetings have been held for four years. It is a very serious charge and you will therefore pardon me if I indulge in a certain amount of frankness. You will perhaps remember that after the settlement of the strike in 1928 and for some time preceding it, the Company refused to have anything with Homi. At that time with a certain amount of diplomatic handling, Homi could have been won over. But because he was neglected by the Company, Homi continued his hostility both towards the Company and towards all those who stood honourably behind the settlement. Everyone in Jamshedpur knows that Homi's party resorted to violence not only by night but also in broad daylight, in dealing with those who remained loyal to the settlement. It is also a matter of common knowledge that public meetings organized by the Labour Association at which I presided were attacked by goondas employed by Homi's party. During those dark days we were denied protection by the forces of the Crown, but we nevertheless remained loyal to our commitments at the time of the settlement, in spite of the fact that the Company did not give effect to all the terms of the settlement. This situation continued for some time, when suddenly, one fine morning, the Company, in a most unaccountable manner, went back to its past conduct, made peace with Homi and left in the lurch those honourable men who had remained loyal to the settlement, and then followed a period of intense fraternization between the Company and Homi's party, while the meetings organized by the Labour Association continued to be attacked by goondas employed by Homi's party. Then followed another change of tactics. Homi was prosecuted and in his absence, the one-man show broke down. Homi's party disappeared from the scene but the goondas remained though employed by other sinister agencies. I was personally present at some of the meetings held in Jamshedpur which were attacked by goondas even when Homi's party had ceased to function. I personally reported to Mr Keenan about this affair but he professed to know nothing about it though every child in Jamshedpur knows to whom these goondas belonged. That situation continued till the

present time. And if the Labour Association fails to hold a meeting in such abnormal circumstances, does the fault rest entirely with the Association? Can anyone be so bold as to maintain that the Company has no responsibility in the matter?

What I fail to understand is why the Company has withdrawn its recognition, in theory and in practice, from the oldest Trade Union Organization in Jamshedpur, which was founded as early as 1920, is connected with the hallowed names of the late Deshbandhu Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi, and which has behaved honourably in all its commitments with the Company. Is it because having broken up Homi's organization, you think it is also possible to break up the present organization? Can you really assert that your attitude towards those who have remained loyal to the settlement of 1928 has been either honourable or moral? I have before me a printed copy of the speech of Mahatma Gandhi delivered at Jamshedpur during his visit in 1934 in which he was constrained to remark in a public meeting that he was 'grieved to learn that the issues between the employers and the employed were being settled at the point of lathis.' However much you may disagree with the politics of Mahatma Gandhi, I do not think your readings of the law courts in Jamshedpur will tell you that Mr John, the Secretary of Labour Association, was dangerously assaulted by Pathans, in the regular employ of the Company, while he was attending the office of the Labour Association.

I am informed by the Secretary of the Labour Association that in spite of all the above-mentioned disadvantages and difficulties, there are regular members on roll and the income of Association, though not satisfactory, is barely sufficient to meet the minimum expenses, excluding house-rent and this is the case in spite of the regular policy of victimization and the starting of a rival organization under the benign patronage of the Management. I wonder if it has ever struck you that there is something unbecoming and even immoral, in the latest move of the Management, extending its patronage to a new organization, while refusing to recognize or co-operate with the oldest organization in Jamshedpur.

You have been pleased to remark that Mr John is the local distributing agent for some newspapers, implying thereby that he

has nothing to do with Trade Union work. May I inform you and also the Management who ought to know better—that ever since 1923, when the paper *Forward* was started by Deshbandhu Das, the Labour Association has been officially the agent of newspapers? This step was deliberately taken twenty years ago in order to encourage the habit of newspaper reading among the local public and incidentally to augment the income of the Association. The small income which is derived from the agency of these newspapers is not the private property of the Association. Mr John may be a poor man but I take my hat off to him as an honourable public-spirited worker, who has been trying to do his best for the Association under starving conditions and sometimes at the risk of his life, and in spite of the tempting offer made to him from time to time, of a comfortable job in the Tata Iron and Steel Company.

You have been pleased to remark further that while one house is occupied by the local distributing agent for some papers, and the other is occupied by two newspaper hawkers, a printing press employee, a hotel servant, a mango dealer and a taxi driver. The information that I have received from the Secretary goes to show that the above statistics are wholly wrong, except for the fact that some employees engaged in distributing papers live in the premises. But these do the work of the Association during the rest of the day and they have been living in the premises for years, since this arrangement has been found to be useful to the Association.

You have referred to the shortage of the quarters and to the necessity of commandeering these two houses. But I do not understand how this shortage has been so acute of late, when you have been carrying on your annual programme of construction and when the workers have been reduced by about twenty per cent since the Association was first allotted these two houses.

In these circumstances I should be pardoned if I venture to think that the real motive behind this move is that the Company now feels itself able to strike the last blow at the Association. Since you have virtual monopoly of housing in Jamshedpur, you may be tempted to think that by denying a habitation to the Labour Association you could put an end to its existence. But I would beg you not to forget the past completely nor those who have en-

deavoured to conduct themselves honourably in their relations with the Company. And as far as the future is concerned, I do not think that we are out of the picture altogether.

I began by saying that I would indulge in certain amount of frankness and if I have done so, I hope you will be good enough to pardon me. I don't hope to convince you. I am painfully conscious of the fact that the words of your own officers will carry more weight with you, than what I may say. I can only say this that I am at least as honourable a man as the best of your officers. My only object in writing this long letter is to try and reveal to you the other side of the picture. As for convincing you, as I have just said, I feel altogether hopeless.

Apologizing for the length of the letter and assuring you of my warmest esteem.

I am

Sincerely yours

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Pension Cosmopolite
Alser Str. 23
Wien VIII
29.11.1935

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I am enclosing herewith a note as desired by you. I hope this is what you wanted. It is not necessary that Dr Vetter should give him this note. He may as well convey the contents to him verbally—in case he does not desire to give a written note.

I have said that I would like to know the reason why the visa has not been allowed. Dr Vetter may add that Indian people have the impression that because of the new Soviet-British rapproche-

ment the visa has not been allowed. This is rather damaging to the reputation of the Soviet Government in India. He may also add that in case the visa is forthcoming, I may still go to Russia—but somewhat later. It is not necessary for Dr Vetter to arrange an interview for me. Dr Vetter could as well talk the matter over finally on my behalf.

Best regards for you both.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

PS I am enclosing a cutting from the *Times.*

To Dr Thierfelder

American Express Company
Käerntnerring 14
Vienna – 1
9 December 1935

Germany Academy
Received/Entered 19.12.1935
No.: J 3005

Dear Herr Doctor Thierfelder,

I thank you very much for your letter dated 6 December. I am grateful to you because you could arrange yet another meeting with Mr Ministerial-director Dieckhoff. But, it is a stroke of ill-fortune that at present I am down with fever and cold. I am really sorry that I cannot tell you right now when it would be possible for me to undertake a journey, because I do not know which course my illness will take. I, therefore, request you to despatch an express letter to Mr Ministerial-director Dieckhoff and to explain to him why I am, once more, unable to come to Berlin. It goes without saying that I shall write to you again after 5 or 6 days and inform you if I am in a position to travel. I shall also be grateful if you

could enquire from Mr Ministerial-director how long he would be away from his office during the Christmas holidays. When I know his plans, I shall utilize the first opportunity to travel to Berlin either before Christmas or just after.

With expression of highest esteem, I remain.

Sincerely yours
Subhas Chandra Bose

To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik*

c/o American Express Co.
Vienna
20.12.35

My dear Sunil,

I received a number of letters from you but have not replied to them—I ask to be forgiven. Karlsbad is not a large city—American Express has therefore no branch office there. If you had only written my name and Karlsbad I would probably have received your letter. Anyway, the last letter that I received from you was dated 12th November. If you write to my above address, I shall receive them in time wherever I may be.

Mrs Kamala Nehru's condition is somewhat better.

The restrictions that were imposed on me are still there. There has been no change in this respect.

Almost everybody collects stamps here. From now on I shall be saving stamps for you.

Thanks to the Mahatma's kindness, Jawaharlal appears to be set to become President again. Who will listen to the voice of Bengal? The late Mr Patel's money will also probably be lost to the cause.

Will there be no end to factional fights in Bengal? Dr Roy's

* Translated from the original Bengali.

group were so long claiming to be my party. Now it is clear that they follow different policies. Else, why did they not accept my proposals? If Bengalis can accept the mediation of Mr Aney, can they not accept the mediation of a Bengali? My only regret is that even after facing so much of insults, suffering and even kicks, Bengalis cannot rise above narrow-mindedness. I wonder what happened to Bengali large-heartedness?

I met Pandit Jawaharlal twice. I had been to Badenweiler.

My health is better than what it used to be, but it will be some time before I am fully cured. That my damaged physique will be restored completely is hard to imagine. Anyway, I shall be happy to be able to achieve some sort of patchwork and then I can return home. I do not wish to stay on in a foreign land any more. This year I did not have improvement at Karlsbad—but I felt better at Gastein. So I am thinking of visiting Gastein again in January to avail of the water-treatment there. I hope you are well.

With love and best wishes

Yours sincerely
Subhas Chandra Bose

To E. Woods

c/o American Express Company
Käerntnerring 14
Vienna – I
21 December 1935

Dear Mrs Woods,

It is long since I had your last letter and I am sorry for not having written to you so long. I am sorry that the friend about whom I wrote to you did not go to Dublin after all. As a matter of fact, so many of my countrymen go to London but do not care to go to Dublin where one can see in flesh and blood some of the men and women who have made and are making history. In my part of

India—Bengal—there is hardly an educated family where books about the Irish heroes are not read and if I may say so, devoured. Nowadays it is becoming more difficult to get books on Ireland because the Government think that the Irish revolutionaries will open the eyes of the Indian people. But as we all know, books that can be had with difficulty are read all the more greedily. I have waited so long for a permit to go to England but there is no hope. I have, however, got a permit from the Free State Government to visit the Irish Free State and I will have to go direct from the continent to Ireland. My intention is to leave for India some time in February. Before I do so I would like to visit Ireland—either towards the end of January or beginning of Februarv. I would naturally like to meet the important people there—you understand whom I mean. I would also like to discuss the future of the Indo-Irish League and the possibility of reviving it. I have been unable so far, to get the leaders of the official party of our Congress to take up the work of foreign propaganda. Nevertheless, I have been able to mobilize public support for this work. And I hope that even without the help of the official party I shall be able to take steps in that direction. You will be surprised to know that owing to the machinations of the official party in the Congress, the executors of the will of the late Mr V.J. Patel are sitting tight over the money. All the other payments provided for in the will have been made with the exception of the money that should come to me for publicity work abroad. The probate was granted by the High Court of Bombay nearly fourteen months ago but the money is lying idle. The official party seems to be opposed to the idea that I should undertake the work. They were of course opposed to the late Mr Patel in his lifetime, but I never expected that meanness would go so far.

I shall be obliged to you if you could kindly let me know which would be the best time for me to visit Ireland. On hearing from you I shall fix up my plans.

With best regards to Mme McBride and yourself.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Kitty Kurti

c/o American Express Company
Vienna
22.12.1935

Dear Mrs Kurti,

I was very glad to receive your kind letter of the 27th October and later on, the article on R.R. I am sorry for the delay in replying to your letter. I have also neglected to order a copy of my book for you. Please pardon me for it. Today I am writing to my publishers and I hope that within a week you will get it.

I agree with you about the trust in the younger generation. In India, also, the fight is going on between the old and the young. Often I find that the young are hampered by the old and a bitter conflict takes place. But we shall come out victorious.

It is possible that I may come to Berlin in January. I am now planning to go home in February. In case you come nearer to this place—please let me know. Perhaps we could meet—for instance, one could easily travel to Bratislava from here.

With kindest regards to Dr Kurti, and yourself.

I am

Very sincerely yours

Subhas C. Bose

PS I often wonder why you stay in Berlin. Don't you find the atmosphere suffocating?

To Amiya Chakravarti*

Pension Cosmopolite
Alser Str. 23
Wien VIII
23.12.35

My dear Mr Chakravarti

I was very much pained while going through your letter and it is quite natural that the pain should be all the more unbearable to a very soft-hearted person like you. When man faces such a situation then he can only find peace within himself and nothing from outside can bring him that solace. I wouldn't have liked to disturb you, sending a letter when you are suffering so, but I want to convey duly this news to you that I got the book *Breakdown by Briffault* sent by you. Thank you very much, because the book is simply wonderful. I lent the book to a few Asian friends for their perusal and after going through the book they found it immensely satisfying.

Probably I am going to Badgastein again in January for medical treatment. When I was there before I was benefited. I have a mind to go to Paris and I am not sure how far that will be possible for me. Anyway, if you are to be in Paris at anytime please inform me beforehand. Jawaharlal had been there for a week but I have not been informed by him how far he has been successful in his mission.

Mrs Nehru is again passing through a very critical state of health and I got a wire yesterday. I have a mind to go there but I myself am suffering from cold and running some temperature for the last one week. I just do not dare to go to see her because then I shall have to take a journey which requires seventeen hours to reach to the place.

I think most probably you have seen the report about the debate which took place in the House of Commons regarding me. I saw the report coming out in the *Times* of 10th instant. Even now they

* Translated from the original Bengali.

maintained that I am absorbed with secret revolutionary activities and so this makes clear to you the mind of the authorities, the British Authorities ruling over India. Frankly speaking, I am happy at the fall of Samuel Hoare. So the curse of India is working. Strange, that the man broke down in tears on the floor of the Parliament.

I am completely in the dark about what was written about you in the newspapers of India. Please let me know about this in time, so that I may be familiar with it and treat it as something essential.

I am again sending you my heartfelt sympathy on your present bereavement. I hope that you are keeping well.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Satyendra Nath Majumdar*

c/o The American Express Co.
Vienna
23.12.35

Dear Friend,

I have not been able to write to you for long. However, I hope you are well. I read your letters with great interest and pleasure. But probably you do not deliberately mention particular people by name and as a result your descriptions lack clarity. Even so there is no difficulty in following the national current or course. Firstly, we must attack the major blunders. In our life discipline has been destroyed completely, from within and without. The reason why discipline has been destroyed is lack of respect and faith. Your analysis in this respect is correct indeed. If there is no respect and faith in regard to an ideal, discipline and dedication can never come.

With the help of Ananda Bazar Patrika please preach this

* Translated from the original Bengali.

fundamental message forcefully. In our life discipline must be inculcated from within and without. Bengalis must once again work together. There should be respect and tolerance for others and in this way others have to be drawn close to ourselves. If Bengalis can again be organized there will be a re-emergence of power from within. In fact, we have not fallen on evil days, there has only been lack of discipline. Simultaneously, a wave of idealism has to be created. We have to wash away all the dirt within ourselves with this wave of idealism. The Bengali is much too envious of others and jealous, we must free ourselves of those drawbacks. Mean-mindedness can be overcome only by idealism, that is why a powerful wave of idealism has become necessary.

I hope all of you are well. My health is better than it used to be, but I am still not cured. I have therefore become restless. I am dying to get back to my country.

With my affectionate greetings.

Yours sincerely
Subhas Chandra Bose

To Santosh Kumar Basu

c/o American Express Co.
Vienna, Austria
3.1.36

My dear Santosh Babu,

You are nothing if not an advocate—so you have turned the tables on me. There is not a word of explanation as to why you have not written to me so long—and I must accept all the blame!

You have referred to a call from the A.I.C.C. But that call will not come—at least not this year. But quite apart from that, I want to return, and as soon as possible. There is no pleasure in living abroad when one's whole heart is elsewhere. I admit that one can do useful work abroad and I have not been idle either. But doing

any effective work requires some money and plenty of moral support from home. I have neither. There is an obvious limit to what one can achieve single-handedly and without financial resources.

Can you tell me what is wrong with Bengal? Really I cannot understand. Are not people tired and ashamed of quarreling over such petty details? I could have understood their quarreling over something substantial—but such trifles! And what has happened to the general public—the unsophisticated public? Why don't they rise in revolt against their so-called spokesmen or representatives? Discipline is completely shattered—and along with it the capacity to observe discipline. We shall have to begin again at the very beginning.

The *Times of London* reported the other day about the resignation of Mr A.K. Fazlul Huq and the other Moslem Councillors over the question of Moslem appointments. Such news are readily transmitted abroad.

I have sent an article to *Advance* under the caption, 'The inside of Bengal Politics.' Have you seen it?

I don't know when exactly I shall be allowed to resume my public activities in Bengal. But whenever I do, I shall insist on one condition—unanimous support (or virtually unanimous) support in Bengal. If this condition is not fulfilled, I shall not touch Bengal politics. I have no desire to appear at the head of one faction. Past experience has taught me one lesson—patience. I can have infinite patience and I shall wait till the forces of evil are played out and exhausted. Meanwhile, I could devote myself to plenty of useful work outside the domain of politics proper.

What are your plans and your ideas?

May the New Year have better luck for all of us!

Egyptians are now wide-awake. They are striking while the iron is hot. But where are we? Charka—Harijan—Parliamentary Board—ministerial guddee . . . —is that the road to salvation?

Where and how are Susthir Babu and Dr Sudhir Basu? What are your boys doing? Kindest regards.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To V. Lesny

Pension Cosmopolite
Alserstrasse 23
Vienna VIII
9 January 1936

My dear Prof. Lesny,

I hope you have received the letter I wrote the other day and also a parcel of some books for the Indo-Czechoslovak Society. Yesterday we had a successful celebration of the Indian National Congress Jubilee here in Vienna.

Mr Nambiar has probably shown you my press-statement in which I advocated that India should have a balance of trade with Czechoslovakia and for that purpose should buy more from Czechoslovakia and less from Germany. This statement has raised some controversy and some figures have been given to show that India already buys enough from Czechoslovakia. I have written to the Export Institute of Prague (Mr Ploskal) to give me the latest figures of exports and imports and on receipt of a reply I shall issue a crushing rejoinder for the Indian Press. I shall soon be leaving Vienna and have to be in Berlin on the 14th morning. From Berlin I shall proceed to Belgium and Paris and then I hope to sail for India in February. I should like very much to meet President Benes once before I go home. You may remember that I had the privilege of meeting him during my first visit to Praha in 1933 when he was the Foreign Minister. If you could possibly arrange an interview for the 13th inst., I shall be grateful. I am very sorry for the short notice, but in view of the extraordinary circumstances in which I am placed, I hope you will do your best and succeed in getting an interview for me. Any time on Monday the 13th will suit me. In case you can arrange the interview, please send me a telegram.

With best regards
I am

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To E. Woods

c/o American Express Company
Käerntnerring 14
Vienna I
9 January 1936

Dear Mrs Woods,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 6th inst. No arrangements have up till now been made about my visit to Ireland and I look up to you to help me in this matter. I intend sailing for India about the middle of February. So my visit to Ireland must take place at some time between the 20th January and the 10th February. You will kindly advise me as to the most convenient time for my visit to Ireland. I could spend a week or ten days there. Please make the necessary arrangements for my meeting President De Valera, the party leaders, the Lord Mayor etc. You may also make arrangements for meetings as you think best. So far as I am concerned, I have no objection to speaking in public. Some time ago there was a statement in the Indian papers that the National University of Dublin wanted to confer an honorary degree on me. I do not know from where this news emanated nor as to whether it is true. But perhaps you could find out.

With best wishes for the new year and with warmest regards.

I am

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

PS As I am leaving for Berlin within a couple of days, please write to me c/o American Express Company, Unter den Linden, Berlin.

S.C.B.

✉

To Santosh Kumar Sen*

c/o Mon. N. D. Javeri
Antwerp, Belgium
(address illegible)
22.1.36

Dear Dr Sen,

I arrived here on the 19th January. En route I have been in Prague and Berlin. I shall be here for a few more days and proceed to Paris from here. I shall leave Paris on the 30th and sail for Ireland. Please call Pension Cosmopolite on the telephone and ask them to forward my mail to this address. I had told them to send my mail here only till the 18th January and thereafter to Paris.

Did you meet Dr Traunwallner? Is he still keen to learn Bengali?

It will be very good if you please send descriptive literature regarding the Congress jubilee per book post to Mr Nambiar. You should simultaneously write to him a postcard to say that you have sent them at my request and that he should return all the papers to me after he has read them. His address:

Mr A.C.N. Nambiar
Prag XIII
Cestmirova, 863/V C.S.R.

An Indian friend of mine wants certain instruments. I am enclosing the letter that he has written to me. Could you buy instruments and send them on to him? Gairola knows from whom these instruments may be obtained. His name is probably Brandenberg. Some months ago I sent some instruments to this gentleman with Gairola's help. You may ask Gairola and send the instruments through the same person by registered post.

I may send you the expenses or my friend may remit the sum to you from home. If you place the order there, Brandenberg will pack the things up and despatch them. The particulars of my friend are:

* Translated from the original Bengali

Dr S.N. Kaul M.B.B.S.
109 Hewett Road
Allahabad

I hope you will visit Mr Faltis from time to time. If he gets your support, he will certainly feel encouraged. In case Mr Mathur stays in Vienna for some time now, he may be of assistance to Mr Faltis. I think it will be a good idea to get Mr Faltis to arrange lecture meetings about India on cultural topics. Please try to go ahead on those lines. I hope you are keeping well. I have given my address at the top of the letter. Next Monday I am leaving here for Paris. My address will be: c/o American Express Co. Rue Scribe 11 Paris (IXe).

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Santosh Kumar Sen

c/o N.D. Javeri
14 Avenue Van den West
Antwerp
(Belgium)
23.1.36

Dear Dr Sen,

Yesterday I forgot to send you Dr Kaul's letter—so I am sending it today. If you ask him Brandenberg will send the things to Bombay—only you will have to select the instruments and ask him to send them by registered post. Please ask Gairola to introduce you to Brandenberg. I do not remember his name very clearly but I have the feeling that his name is Brandenberg.

Could you please do another job for me? Could you please ask a Transport company how much will it cost if I wanted to send some luggage from Vienna to Trieste? I think we could avail of a

goods train, because my ship will sail from Trieste towards the end of February. In any event, please enquire about the freight both for the goods train and ordinary passenger train. It will be their job to load my baggage straight on to the ship 'Victoria' at Trieste. You may ask Lloyd Triestino about this, if they undertake such transportation work—besides, you may seek Mrs Vetter's advice in the matter.

I shall be here till the 27th January. I shall leave for Paris on that day and sail for Dublin from Havre on the 30th, for Dublin! My address after 27th January will be:

c/o American Express Company
11 Rue Scribe
Paris IX^{e}

I shall return again to Paris from Dublin on the 13th. I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely
Subhas Chandra Bose

To E. Woods

c/o N.D. Javeri
14 Avenue van den Nest
Antwerp
23.1.36

Dear Mrs Woods,

You must have received my letter from Berlin by now. I have booked berth by the boat (S.S. Washington) which leaves Havre on the 30th and reaches Cobh on the 31st January. The length of my stay in Ireland will depend on the programme there. For the return journey there are two boats—one leaving Cobh on the 4th February and the other on the 12th February. I can take either, but I must return on the 12th February at the latest.

I am here till the 26th inclusive. On the 27th inst. I leave for Paris. My address there is:

c/o American Express Company
11 Rue Scribe
Paris IX^{e}

While in Berlin I received your letter of the 15th inst. With warmest regards.

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

My telegraphic address here is: Care Dahyabhai, Antwerp
My telegraphic address in Paris is: Care Amexco 96, Paris

To Naomi C. Vetter

Antwerp
24.1.36
Friday

Frau N.C. Vetter
Wien – IX
Wahringer Str. 41
(Autriche)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

Your card came this morning. Many thanks. I also received your kind letters (2) in Berlin. I am still rushing about. Today we are going to Spa by car and shall see Waterloo and other places on our way. We return tomorrow and on Sunday I leave for Paris. There is a small colony of Indian businessmen here, who are awfully kind to me. I am sending under separate cover an Antwerp paper containing an interview which I gave here. My address in Paris:

c/o American Express Co.
11 Rue Scribe
Paris IX^e^

On the 30th inst., I am sailing from Havre for Ireland and from there shall return to Paris again. I shall sail for India on the 28th February via Paris and Genoa. Please excuse card. Best regards.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To E. Woods*

Hotel Ambassador
16 Boulevard Hausmann
Paris 9e
26.1.36

Dear Mrs Woods,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 20th January with enclosures. I arrived in Paris today from Antwerp. I hope you have got the letter I wrote to you from Antwerp.

As I have informed you, I am sailing from Havre on the 30th January. From there I have to take the train to Dublin. I would like to have some message from you when I reach Cobh by boat—or perhaps some friend there at Cobh could meet me on your behalf.

I have not booked any room in Dublin Hotel. I think I should stay at Shelbourne's. If it is necessary to book a room there beforehand, please do so.

. . . . . .

* The latter part of this letter was not available. – Ed.

To Naomi C. Vetter

Hotel Ambassador
Boulevard Hausmann
Paris (9e)
27.1.36

Frau N. C. Vetter
Wien – IX
Wahringer Str. 41
(Autriche)

My dear Mrs Vetter,

Please excuse this card once again. Just received your 2 letters addressed to Paris—many thanks. I came here yesterday and leave for Dublin by boat from Havre on the 30th January and put up at the same hotel. Please write to the above address.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

United States Lines
on board S.S. Washington
(near Havre, France)
30.1.36

My dear Mrs Vetter,

Cut off from friends for the time being, I have now time to sit down and write. You must, first of all, excuse me for not writing a long letter after leaving Vienna, but the fault is not entirely mine. When I was left alone I was too tired. When I could write, I was in the company of people.

First, Prague. I had an interesting talk with B. It was good of him to receive me though he was awfully busy. In the waiting room,

I found that I was preceded by the French Ambassador and followed by the Austrian. I left the same night for Berlin.

In Berlin I found that the economic situation was really much worse than last year. What was more interesting was that people were now criticizing the government—which they formerly did not dare to. The 'Haus-Frau' as a class were discontented—because butter, eggs, etc. were difficult to get. And the government cannot put these women into prisons so easily! Outwardly, things were more quiet. No marches of stormtroopers did I see—as I saw in 1933 and also in 1934. The reason, of course, is that this military business has been taken over by the Reichswehr. Nevertheless, I heard on many sides that people wanted peace—because the economic situation was bad. Germany is now very pro-British. There is a colony of Indians in Berlin and we had also a meeting with them. They will have their Congress Jubilee celebration on the 1st February.

From Berlin I went to Cologne and Brussels—and from there to Antwerp. At Antwerp there is a colony of Indian businessmen—trading in diamonds and precious stones. They were all kind to me and I was their guest. We did some sightseeing tours—to Brussels, Spa, Waterloo and neighbouring places. I have sent you a cutting from the Antwerp paper 'Le Matin' which published an interview with me.

In Paris I did not have much time—but I still could see some interesting people like Andre Gide, Felicien Challeye (the pacifist leader), Mr Dennery (of the Political Science Department of the University), Mme Drevet (former Secretary of the Women's International League at Geneva), Mme Duchene (a left-wing woman leader), etc. When I return to Paris after a fortnight I shall meet more people. They are arranging two conferences for me—with such personalities as are likely to sympathize with India. Mon. Basch was ill when I telephoned to him. Mon. Guernut is now a minister and I doubt if he will be accessible. Mon. Blum is busy with his elections, but I shall try to meet him when I am back in Paris. I expect to be in Paris on the 14th February and then stay for a week.

As you will see from the letterhead, I am on board at Havre. We reach Cork, the Irish port, tomorrow afternoon or evening. I

shall take the train next morning for Dublin. The External Affairs Department (Foreign Office) of Dublin has informed me officially that President De Valera will receive me as soon as I arrive—and that my first call will be on the President.

My departure for India has been postponed, because the Indian Congress will meet not in March but in April. I am therefore thinking of taking a 'cure' at Badgastein—after finishing my work in Paris and Geneva. If the Congress had met in March, I would have sailed from Italy by Lloyd Triestino, but now I find that I must sail from Marseilles by P & O boat. Consequently I do not think that I can visit Vienna again.

I have received all your letters—your letters of the 13th and 14th January—two post cards of the 20th January and 2 letters of the 23rd January.

I have read and re-read your letters. How can I thank you sufficiently for your kindness? People have wondered why I have spent so much of my time in Vienna during the last three years—but I do not wonder.

Wherever I have been, the weather has been warm, considering that it is now January. In Paris I found it really warm with my heavy overcoat and I often used to perspire freely whenever I had to walk.

Yes, I have received the 2 letters addressed in Berlin. So you need not be afraid.

I have not yet finally booked my berth for India. The berth booked in the Lloyd Triestino boat which is to sail on the 28th February has now got to be cancelled and I have to go by a British boat which I dislike. But it cannot be helped, as no other company's timing will suit me.

French politics is at present in an interesting situation. both the right and left parties are strong. The next elections will probably strengthen the left—but not much. Some of the right parties are anti-British, but the left parties are pro-British because of their close association with the British Labour Party.

About Paris, I shall be able to tell you more, after I spend a week there on my return from Dublin. Like Vienna, Paris also seemed to be madly in grief for the late King George.

In Paris I found an Indian gentleman who has been in close touch with the League of Human Rights. He will arrange so that I may meet important members of the League (including Mon. Basch) when I return to Paris.

I would like to hear more about Seton Watson. Is he pro-Czech? There is a pro-Czech English journalist who lectures on Czechoslovakia at Oxford University, I think. What books has he written?

I hope the *Modern Review* will publish promptly Dr Vetter's speech. I have asked them to send a copy of the *Review* to your address when the speech appears. Dr Vetter's speech at the Congress Jubilee celebration in Vienna was full of sympathy, dignity and learning. His speech at the tea party (at Hartmann's) was full of pathos and exceedingly touching.

How is the weather? Outside Vienna everywhere the weather has been fairly good. Best regards for both of you.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

PS My handwriting is sometimes so bad that I wonder if you can understand it.

S.C.B.

To Amiya Chakravarti

Dublin
8.2.36

My dear Amiya,

Today I received your letter of the 7th. I will reach Paris on the 14th and after 5 to 7 days there, I will go on to Geneva. My address—Hotel Ambassador, Boulevard, Hausmann, Paris 9^{e}.

Friends there have arranged several appointments for me. I am not fully familiar with the details. I'll learn them when I reach Paris.

I think it will be good if you stay at the same hotel. I'll be able to make time for discussions.

I won't write any more now. When we meet, we'll discuss everything.

As ever

Yours

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Hotel Ambassador
16 Boulevara Hausmann
Paris
26.2.36

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I am sorry for not writing to you so long. I have been very busy in Ireland and then in Paris. Have you received any cuttings from the Irish papers?

I am leaving Paris today for Badgastein where I arrive on the 29th. I shall be meeting Mr Nehru at Lausanne and Mon. Rolland at Villeneuve on my way to Badgastein.

I am afraid I cannot write a long letter until I am settled down in Badgastein. I shall stay there at *Kurhaus Hochland*.

I met Mr Victor Basch and the Minister for Education, Mr Guernut. Many thanks for the introductions.

With best regards for Dr Vetter and yourself.

Yours ever sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

PS I sail for India about 20th March

S.C.B.

To Santosh Kumar Sen*

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein
3.3.36

Dear Dr Sen,

I arrived here early this morning. After nearly one-and-a-half months I am having some peace. I spent the last month and a half as if in the midst of a whirlwind. I have once again returned to Austria after visiting places like Prague, Berlin, Brussels, Paris, Ireland and then again Paris, Lausanne, etc.

The landscape here is beautiful—exactly like the Himalayas. There is snow all around and the mountain ranges stand firm and unshakable.

For the present I wish to sail for home from Marseilles on the 20th. I am hoping that before I leave I shall give you back half of your money. However, I have not received enough money from home yet, that is why I could not give you any money.

I am enclosing a cheque herewith for £ 22. It will be good if you cash the cheque there, and send the money to me. You are probably aware that there are no restrictions on sending registered letters or cheques inside Austria. After cashing the cheque, you may send the money to me by postal money order or registered letter. But I think sending by registered letter will cost less. Be sure to seal the registered letter very well. If there is small change, you may buy some stamps and send them. I need not write more. Please send money quickly and with care.

I hope you are keeping well. I am feeling tired out.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

PS I received your letter of 27th January a long time ago.

* Translated from the original Bengali.

To Jawaharlal Nehru

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein (Autriche)
4 March 1936

My dear Jawahar,

I arrived here yesterday morning after a long and tiring journey. It is beautiful and quiet here. I wish you could have some rest in Europe before throwing yourself into the whirlpool once again.

Since leaving you I have been thinking if I should really issue some sort of statement on the lines I spoke to you. I think I should, because there is the possibility of my going to prison again and there may be some people who would like to have my suggestions. I shall make the statement as short as possible and say clearly that I have definitely decided to give you my full support.

Among the front-rank leaders of today—you are the only one to whom we can look up to for leading the Congress in a progressive direction. Moreover, your position is unique and I think that even Mahatma Gandhi will be more accommodating towards you than towards anybody else. I earnestly hope that you will fully utilize the strength of your public position in making decisions. Please do not consider your position to be weaker than it really is. Gandhiji will never take a stand which will alienate you.

As I was suggesting in our last talk, your immediate task will be a twofold one—1) to prevent office-acceptance by all possible means and 2) to enlarge and broaden the composition of the Cabinet. If you can do that, you will save the Congress from demoralization and bring it out of a rut. Bigger problems may wait till tomorrow but the Congress has to be saved from demoralization at once.

I was extremely glad to hear that you were desirous of starting a foreign department of the Congress. This falls in line with my views completely.

I do not intend to lengthen this letter since you must be in a hurry to leave and must have several things to attend to before you

do so. I wish you a safe journey home and plenty of luck in the arduous task that awaits you. If I am allowed to come to Lucknow, my services will be at your disposal.

Yours affectionately

Subhas

To Santosh Kumar Sen*

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein
4.3.36

Dear Dr Sen,

I wrote to you yesterday and sent a cheque. I hope you will receive them in due course.

Have you heard from Uday Shankar? I apprehend that he may fall into the hands of Agnihotri. You may get Uday Shankar's news from his agent there and you may write to him at his address. I did not receive any replies to the letters I wrote from Vienna to Uday Shankar to his address in Cairo and Alexandra. That has made me rather anxious.

An Indian student in Paris told me that he wanted to go to Vienna for medical treatment. I have given him your name and address and have asked him to write to you. Back home also I have given your name and address to two or three people.

I hope all of you are keeping well. I wish to have detailed news from you. I am so so.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

PS Has any newcomer arrived there?

* Translated from the original Bengali

To Santosh Kumar Sen*

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein
4.3.36

Dear Dr Sen,

I received a letter for Gairola today. He has requested me to come to Vienna and has written to say that. I shall have no expenses because, you, Vimalakirti and Gairola will take care of all expenses. The occasion for the visit is that Uday Shankar is coming to Vienna. Please let me know immediately what all this is about. I desire to sail from Marseilles on or about the 20th March. Meanwhile I wish to avail of treatment here as much as possible, if I go to Vienna there will be interruption in that regard. There is financial difficulty, but that is not the only obstacle. I have not yet been able to return your thirty pounds. Besides, in view of Gairolas' financial situation it is quite impossible to thrust an additional burden on him. I have no knowledge about Vimalakirti's financial condition. I do not know if Gairola has written to me without delay and quite frankly. When will be the press reception for Uday Shankar? When will be his first performance? etc. One more thing. Our national flag was left behind at the Bristol Hotel. Have you brought it back?

Following the example of Vienna, Indians living in Berlin and Paris are observing the golden jubilee of the National Congress in February. Thus, your efforts have certainly produced good results.

If I had travelled first class on the ship, I could have in that case returned home by air instead, because the fare that one has to pay from Marseilles to Bombay would be the same as the aeroplane fare from Rome to Karachi. Aeroplane fares have gone down nowadays and it takes only two-and-a-half days by the Dutch aeroplane from Rome to Karachi. But owing to financial stringency I have to travel second class (and P & O or Lloyd Triestino will not reach Bombay in time).

Mathur has written to say that you may be coming here. If you

* Translated from the original Bengali

do, please let me know so that I may speak to the landlady and arrange a room. I believe that doctors are entitled to 'bath' here free of charge. But before you come please obtain a legitimation to the effect that you are a full-fledged doctor. Besides, if you wish to avail of cheaper tickets please purchase the ticket in this way—Wien Badgastein: Badgastein—Wien . . . Czechoslovak Frontier (near Bratislava). If you buy your ticket in this way, you get a 60 per cent reduction on the whole route. Their rule is that a foreigner has to buy his ticket up to a frontier station. If you come to Badgestein you should tear off your ticket after returning to Vienna. I hope all is well with you.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein
5.3.36

Frau N.C. Vetter
Wien – IX
Wahringer Str. 41

My dear Mrs Vetter,

This is just to acknowledge receipt of your two kind letters (the 2nd one I got here from Paris) to which I have not yet replied. I had a busy time in Paris and then at Lausanne, where Mrs Nehru breathed her last on the 28th February. Her husband and daughter were near her till the end. Mr Nehru is returning to India on the 7th March by aeroplane.

It is beautiful and quiet here (though rather windy) and it is a great relief after the worry of the last six weeks. I intend taking the boat from Marseilles on the 20th March. Best regards for Dr Vetter and your good self.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To E. Woods

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein (Badgastein)
(Austria)
5.3.36

Dear Mrs Woods,

You must be thinking what a funny man I am to leave Dublin and, as it were, disappear from the picture altogether. Well, I cannot sufficiently apologize for my fault. I have been passing through a whirlwind since I left Dublin and only now have I been able to settle down to a quiet rest.

After leaving Dublin I saw Miss McSweeney the same night. I am glad that I took that train from Dublin because the boat was due the next morning. I could not therefore see Miss McSweeney again the next morning.

The sea was rather rough and I was sick all the time. I had to give up the idea of writing a long letter to you from the boat.

Then as soon as I reached Paris, I had a round of engagements

and people round me all the time. When I retired at night, I felt too tired to write a long letter.

Then I left Paris and went to Lausanne to see Mr and Mrs Nehru. Mrs Nehru was seriously ill and she died while I was at Lausanne. We had to make the arrangements for the cremation etc.—and we were kept busy all the time. Mr Nehru will be flying to India soon, as he has to preside over the National Congress which will meet at Lucknow early in April. From Lausanne, I came here for a rest and also for bath-treatment. The baths here are very efficacious as a 'pick-me-up.' I feel pretty badly shaken up as a result of continuous travelling and also some amount of worry. This rest will do me good and then I intend taking the boat from Marseilles about the 20th March.

Towards the end of my stay in Dublin, I used to get a peculiar pain in the inside which was continuous. I never had this before. I did not speak to anyone about it, because I did not like to cause worry. The pain disappeared a few days after I arrived in Paris.

I cannot thank you sufficiently for your extreme kindness during my stay in Dublin and I therefore bring with me the most pleasant recollections. Your daughters were also extremely kind to me and, of course, Enda was my guardian angel. Please convey my grateful thanks to all of them.

I do not know when we shall meet again. Bhavabhuti, one of our ancient poets, once wrote—'Time is eternal and the earth is a vast expanse', so maybe we shall meet again—but perhaps not so unexpectedly as when I knocked against my prison-Superintendent in Shelbourne Hotel.

In a few days I shall write to you again as to what I think we should do—or could do—to continue this contact between India and Ireland. Have you had any talk with Mme. MacBride since I left Dublin? Has there been any fresh development there since I left?

Please give my cordial greetings to your sons and daughters and accept my warmest regards.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Santosh Kumar Sen*

Badgastein
Undated
[postmark bears the date 5.3.36] – Ed.

I could not understand from Gairola's letter if Uday Shankar has been liberated from the clutches of Agnihotri. In case you have not received any letter from him (Uday Shankar), please write to him immediately, to his Budapest address and warn him about Agnihotri. Please do not fail to do this. You may easily get his Budapest address from Uday Shankar's agent.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Santosh Kumar Sen**

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein
6.3.36

My dear Dr Sen,

I just received your express letter and 587 shillings today. I did not expect you would be able to send them so quickly.

I would have been happy to come to Vienna once more before returning home—but that will probably not be possible. After receiving Gairola's letter, I also became somewhat enthusiastic about it but then after thinking over the matter deeply I concluded that that would not be possible. After going round so many places and experiencing varying climates and food since leaving Vienna, I feel weak and tired out. In Dublin one day I suddenly had a new

* Translated from the original Bengali
** Translated from the original Bengali

kind of abdominal pain that I had not felt before. In Lausanne, I also had to face serious anxiety and inconvenience on account of Mrs Nehru's death. Now, before returning home it is very necessary to pay particular attention to my health for two or three weeks. Treatment here consists of 'bath.' In all twenty-nine baths have to be taken, that takes generally twenty-five to twenty-seven days. It will not be possible for me to take twenty-one baths, because I have to sail from Marseilles on the 20th March. That is to say, I have to leave here on or about the 18th. During this time I shall be able to take only fourteen baths. If I have to go to Vienna, I have to possibly skip two or three days and as a result my trip to Badgastein will have been in vain. In view of all these considerations I have had to give up the proposal to visit Vienna. I am writing today to Gairola also in the same terms.

It will be nice if you all receive Uday Shankar at the railway station on the day he arrives. Moreover, you should be present at the press reception. I have again written to Uday Shankar from here about Agnihotri at his Budapest address. I hope he will duly receive my letter. If all of you are present in a body at the press reception then Agnihotri can be held in check.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Amiya Chakravarti*

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein, Austria
11.3.36

My dear Mr Chakravarti,

I received your long letter promptly in Paris. I'm sorry that I could not see you. I met the two gentlemen whose names and addresses you had given me. They are wonderful men.

There are many things to tell; today I'll bring up one or two

* Translated from the original Bengali

subjects. You must have noticed in the newspapers the excitement that Hitler's speech has created in India. It seems to me that there should be a sharp refutation on behalf of the federation. I am saying this after serious consideration. The result of such refutation will be favourable rather than unfavourable. I do not know what the Indians who are in Germany will do, perhaps it is a little difficult for them to do anything. But those of us who are abroad, our duty is clear. In this matter you should not feel hesitant. If it takes too much time or it is inconvenient to get the committee's approval before making such a refutation, then you, as the president, can make the reply of the federation. If some cowardly person in the future raises any question about this, then you can say that at home you have always worked with the backing of public support. But when Indians at home are registering strong dissent, then, it becomes doubly necessary for Indians who are in Europe, to do the same. After a great deal of thought, I have sent a protest for the Indian newspapers (at home) and supported the proposal for halting trade with Germany. Very soon I will send a personal protest to the German leaders. But because behind me there is no organization, perhaps it won't have too much effect. The protest that the federation made two years ago had some effect because a very mild reply came from 'The Foreign Office.' In your protest you might refer to the fact that the spirit of that letter has not been followed up. Instead a new insult has been inflicted on the Indian people. You have perhaps noted that in Japan there has been an 'official' protest against this.

The Lucknow Congress will convene on the 8th of April. I must arrive before that. Therefore my European tour is coming to an end, I must go. After considering what you have said and also what my friends have said in the same vein, I am telling you that it is not possible to fully discuss these things in a letter. Needless to say that as soon as I return, I stand the chance of being arrested. If they don't arrest me, then I agree with your views on how we should work. It is not possible to go anywhere else, because of the haste with which I have to return home. I have a great unfulfilled desire to travel in many countries, but for many reasons I cannot fulfil my desire.

I was very happy to see your article in the publication of the Women's International League. You asked me to write this—now I see that I did well in not writing, because as a result of my not writing, your wonderful article has been printed. In fact, I was so busy in Berlin, Paris and after that in Lausanne, I was unable to write any article; I was even unable to reply to letters on time.

Something else should have been said about Hitler. It is not true that the very fact of protest would cause separation from the federation because two years ago a sharp protest was made and its result was not unfavourable. Against Germany, we (Indians) have many complaints. The other day (in January), I made known my protest, when I was in Berlin. They worship strength, not weakness. I am saying this even prepared for separation from the federation. Against Italy there are complaints from other standpoints—not from the standpoint of India's interest or prestige. But against Germany, we have many accusations from India's standpoint.

There is no early possibility of the fall of Hitler's Govt. If war breaks out some day and the war weakens Germany, then such a fall is possible, otherwise not. But if as a result of our boycott, Germany's trade suffers, then German businessmen will put pressure on Hitler. Now, in Germany there are two groups that are highly successful—army and businessmen.

That's all for today. I hope your health is better now. As a result of travelling and drinking water in many places I am feeling very tired. When I was in Dublin, I had pains in my stomach. Now, I have come here to rest, and at the same time for bath treatment. Last year this treatment benefited me. I hope I will also be benefited this time and after regaining my health somewhat start for home. Accept my heartfelt affection and

As ever yours

Subhas Chandra Bose

✉

To Amiya Chakravarti

Sir,

The other day I received a letter from the British Consul in Vienna which runs thus:

12 March 1936

Sir,

I have today received instructions from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to communicate to you a warning that the Government of India have seen in the Press statements that you propose to return to India this month and the Government of India desire to make it clear to you that should you do so you cannot expect to remain at liberty.

I am s.c

J.W. Taylor
His Majesty's Consul

I was arrested on January 2, 1932 in India and detained in prison till February 22, 1933 without any trial. Though I repeatedly asked for it, I was never informed of the charge or complaint which the Government of India had against me. When I fell seriously ill and several medical boards appointed by the Government to examine me recommended that I should be either released or allowed to proceed to Europe for treatment, the Government of India permitted me to sail for Europe and withdrew the order of detention. I have been in Europe virtually for the last three years. Only once have I been back during this period—namely in December, 1934, when I went to see my dying father and stayed there for six weeks. During my brief stay in India I was made a prisoner in my house.

I now want to go home and I am served with this official threat. My last imprisonment was bad enough, legally and ethically. But the proposed imprisonment, in the event of my returning to India now, beats all records. May I ask if this is how British law is going

to be administered in India and if this is a foretaste of the expanded liberty which the new constitution will usher in?

Yours s.c.

Subhas Chandra Bose
(President Bengal Congress Committee)

Kurhaus Hochland, Badgastein
Austria
17 March

To Jawaharlal Nehru

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein, Austria
13 March 1936

My dear Jawahar,

I have just now received an express letter from the British Consul at Vienna which reads as follows:

'I have today received instructions from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to communicate to you a warning that the Government of India have seen in the press statements that you propose to return to India this month and the Government of India desire to make it clear to you that should you do so you cannot expect to remain at liberty.'

Sd. J.W. Taylor
'His Majesty's Consul'

I was on the point of fixing up my passage when I got this note. As a matter of fact, I had delayed booking my passage because I was weighing the comparative advantages of a sea voyage and a journey by air. In the latter case, I could complete the full course of treatment here which takes 25 days in all. There is no one here and hardly anyone on the Continent whom I could consult on such

a matter. My inclination at the moment as you can very well imagine from your reactions—is to defy the warning and go home. The only point that one has to consider is which course would be in the public interest. The personal factor does not count at all with me and personally I am prepared for any line which the public interest demands. I have been so long away from public affairs that it is difficult for me to be quite sure as to which course of action would serve the public interest more. Perhaps you could advise me on this question. I know it is difficult for you also to give advice to another person in such a predicament. But you can easily forget the personal factor—and I know you can do that in the face of a public question—and give advice to a public worker from the point of view of public interest alone. In view of the outstanding position that you hold in the public life of our country, you cannot avoid the responsibility of having to give advice in such peculiar and unpleasant circumstances.

My only excuse for troubling you on such a matter is that I can think of no one else in whom I could have greater confidence. The time is so short that I cannot ask advice from a number of people. It is no use asking my own relatives because it is just possible that they may not look at the matter purely from the public point of view. The only course for me, therefore, is to depend on your advice. You should get this letter about the 20th inst. If you could kindly send me a wire soon after, I should get it in time. I can take the K.L.M. plane which starts from Rome on the 22nd April. Therefore, if I finally decide about leaving for India on the 21st or even 22nd, I should be able to get a seat in the plane which starts from Rome on the 2nd April. It is even possible that I may get a seat in the plane which leaves on the 29th March.

When I had resolved to go home in time for the Lucknow Congress, there was, of course, the possibility of my being put in prison on my landing there. But there was also the possibility of being allowed to remain a free man, for some time at least. The latter possibility is removed altogether and going home now means going to prison. Of course, going to prison also has its public utility and there is much to be said in favour of defying an official order like this and deliberately courting imprisonment.

Please let me have some reply as early as possible. You could address a telegram as follows:

Bose, Kurhaus Hochland, Badgastein, Austria.

Hope you had a comfortable journey and that your health is satisfactory.

Yours affectionately

Subhas

PS Only yesterday in a message to the press I indicated the possibility of my going by aeroplane after completing the treatment here.

S.C.B.

To E. Woods

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein, Austria
17.3.36

Dear Mrs Woods,

Many thanks for your kind and prompt letter of the 9th inst. Before saying anything else, I shall give a copy of a letter I have received from the British Consul in Vienna:

12 March 1936

'I have today received instructions from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to communicate to you a warning that the Government of India have seen in the press, statements that you propose to return to India this month and the Government of India desire to make is clear to you that should you do so, you cannot expect to remain at liberty.'

Sd/- J.W. Taylor
His Majesty's Consul

Perhaps you could put this into the Dublin papers—particularly the Irish Press—if you make a personal request. In case you succeed, you may add the following, among other, points:

1) I was in prison once before, without trial, from October 1924 to May 1927. I was ultimately released only when I was seriously ill.
2) That I was kept in prison again without trial from January 1932 to February 1933. When I was seriously ill once again and the medical officers of the Government urged that I should be either released or allowed to go to Europe—the Govt. permitted me to go abroad.
3) When I went to see my dying father in November 1934 and actually arrived in Calcutta a day after his death—I was made a prisoner in my house. I remained in that condition as long as I was in India—viz. 6 weeks.

The proposed imprisonment is in anticipation of what I might do. This is British law:

I am glad that you will be able to put some stuff into the *Irish People*.

Please let me hear from you soon. I shall also try to write again to you.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein
17.3.36

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I can easily imagine your feelings at my long silence. Meanwhile I have not been altogether at ease. I received the following letter from the British Consulate in Vienna the other day:

'I have today received instructions from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to communicate to you a warning that the Government of India have seen in the press, statements that you propose to return to India this month and the Government of India desire to make it clear to you that should you do so, you cannot expect to remain at liberty.'

Sd/- J.W. Taylor
His Majesty's Consul

I had to do a lot of thinking all alone and finally came to the conclusion that I shall defy the threat and face the consequences. I have not yet communicated this decision, nor do I intend to inform the British Government as to what I am going to do. Let them find out for themselves. Here I find that the police are watching my movements closely. Probably they have orders to communicate to London about my movements.

I have not yet informed anybody in Vienna about the latest developments—except my Secretary, Miss Schenkl, whom I have summoned here, as I have to get through some urgent work, including preparing the 2nd edition of my book, before I go and sit down quietly in prison. *Kindly treat this matter as strictly confidential until I am in a position to inform other friends.*

I am going, not by a British boat, as I do not want to be in their clutches, but by an Italian boat. If I do not get a berth there I shall be in a great difficulty—but I hope to get a berth in an Italian boat which leaves on the 27th from Genoa. Until I get a reply from the Lloyd Triestino Company, I cannot be sure of this—consequently I cannot fill in your card.

Mrs Hargrove wanted to know by which boat I am sailing. I have not replied to her as yet, but shall write a few days later. Meanwhile you need not tell her anything.

I cannot tell you how warmly I appreciate the kindest sentiments of Dr Vetter and yourself in your recent letters—especially the last one. Pray do not regard this business letter as a reply to any of your friendly letters. I shall certainly write a long letter within a few days.

I expect that the *Modern Review* will publish Dr Vetter's article in its March issue. The magazine should reach Vienna about the

25th March, if not earlier. I have asked that a copy be sent to your address direct.

In France I was impressed most by the intellectuals like Andre Gide, Andre Malraux and other writers. Basch was very sympathetic. Guernut was kind but slightly official! But more about this later on.

Warmest regards

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik*

Kurhaus Hochhaus
Badgastein, Austria
17.3.36

My dear Sunil,

I duly received your letter of 26th January. But as I was touring in a number of countries, I could not reply to you. And there has been such a long delay that I felt that there was hardly any point in writing now. Eventually I decided to write.

Your wedding must be over by now. An event like this happens only once in a lifetime, and on which depends good, bad and so much else in the future. So I shall pray that your wedded life may be full of happiness, and that your lives may be spent in the welfare of your country and countrymen. Personal and family happiness has hardly any value to me unless personal and family life is dedicated to the well-being of the country. I shall therefore particularly pray that your lives may be devoted to the good of your country and countrymen—you will certainly find true happiness and bliss only in this.

* Translated from the original Bengali

I do not know when I shall see you again, so I am sending you my good wishes from far away.

With love and good wishes

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

From Romain Rolland

Villeneuve (Vaud) Villa Olga
20 March 1936

Dear Subhas Chandra Bose,

We have received your letter this moment and I am writing to you also. We don't want to let you part without sending you our sympathetic affection which may accompany you through all your risks and fights. You know quite well our wishes, our hopes and that we want to see the full independence of your great country and its social progress. Our thoughts and wishes will always be with the good fighters for this twofold cause. Believe in the cordial remembrance of your friends in Villeneuve.

Yours devoted

Romain Rolland

To Santosh Kumar Sen*

Kurhaus Hockland
Badgestein
22.3.36
Sunday

My dear Dr Sen,

I have received your letter. I have much to tell you. I shall write about some of them in my letters and shall convey some others

* Translated from the original Bengali

through Miss Schenkl. Today I shall bother you about two or three practical matters.

1. I am sending two cheques herewith. One of the cheques is for 30 pounds. This is in repayment of your loan. Many thanks.

2. The other cheque is for £ 27–18–6.

Please cash this cheque and buy a rail ticket for me. I am enclosing a letter addressed to American Express Company for the rail ticket. Any money that may be left over after purchasing the ticket you may please *remit to me immediately*. You may send the money by money order or in a sealed 'wert-brief.'

I shall get reduction of 60 per cent on this ticket in Austria and 50 per cent in Italy. If they do not allow you this reduction, please do not buy the ticket. I shall go and buy the ticket at the Reisebüro, of the next station, Hofgastein. If you do not get the reduction, please do not buy the ticket and send the entire sum back to me.

3. If possible please try to send the ticket and money by the afternoon of Monday. I am arranging to start from here in the afternoon of the 25th (Wednesday). *Please do not talk about this to anybody.* If you use the 'Wert-brief', you may send the money and the ticket together. If you send the money by money order, please send the ticket in a separate registered envelope.

I am writing about other matters in a separate letter today or tomorrow. *Meanwhile, please do not tell anything about me to anybody* else. If anybody asks about me, please tell him that you know nothing. The Government has informed me that they will not leave me alone, when I return to India. I am enclosing copy of the official letter.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

PS The local police are maintaining close watch on me. They want to know when and where I shall go from here. So, please, do not tell anybody about the ticket.

Subhas

✉

To Romain Rolland

25 March 1936

Respected Sir,

Please accept my profound gratitude for your kind letter of the 20th March and the most friendly sentiments expressed therein. I consider myself to be exceptionally fortunate that I was able to meet you twice at Villeneuve and converse with you at such length. It is to me—and to all my countrymen—source of strength and inspiration to know that your thoughts and wishes are with us in our struggle for national and social emancipation. We greatly value your appreciation of India's agelong culture and the efforts that you have undertaken to make that culture known throughout the world. But more than that, do we value your powerful advocacy of India's right to freedom. I carry with me the most pleasant recollection of the happy hours I have spent at Villeneuve.

I have given close and anxious consideration to the suggestion that Mme. Rolland has made on your behalf that I should postpone my return to India for the present. I fully appreciate your feelings on this matter, but owing to reasons which I have fully explained in a statement I am issuing to the Indian Press, I feel that it is my duty to return to India at once, regardless of the official frowns. It is, of course, a tragic thing that the best and most creative years of one's life should be spent behind prison walls but that is a price which enslaved people always had and always will have to pay in this world.

I send herewith to Mme Rolland and yourself my warmest esteem and expression of my gratitude for all your kindness.

Yours respectfully

Subhas Bose

✉

To Prof. Lesny

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein
25 March 1936

My dear Prof. Lesny,

I was delighted to receive your very kind letter the other day. Out of the largeness of your heart you have greatly exaggerated the little service I have been able to render to the Indo-Czechosolovak Society and to the cause of understanding and intercourse between our two countries. Whatever service I have been able to render has given me the greatest pleasure and this particular work fits in with my conception of my life's mission. I need hardly assure you that I shall continue this endeavour in future. Mr Nambiar must have acquainted you with the circumstances that will face me when I reach India next month. But whatever the immediate future may have in store for me, I am sure that ultimately I shall have the freedom and the opportunity to work for our common cause. I thank you and Mrs Lesny for the kindness I have received at your hands and I send herewith my warmest regards.

I am

Very sincerely yours

Subhas C. Bose

To Santosh Kumar Sen*

25.3.36

My dear Dr Sen,

I know nothing at all on this subject. But I think a letter should be written to this gentleman on behalf of the Association. If possible,

* Translated from the original Bengali

please try so that an Indian friend living in England may see him and apprise him fully about the standpoint of the Association.

It should be made clear to him that if Agnihotri is in it, Indians will boycott the move and the purpose will be defeated.

If you can get the address of the Board, please write to India immediately about this matter by airmail. If the news reaches India, probably the purpose will be served. You should therefore make an effort in that direction.

I am leaving tomorrow morning—so a trip to Vienna is impossible.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

[This letter does not bear an address. From the context, it is however clear that it was written from Badgastein—just on the eve of his departure for India. – Ed.].

To Dr Thierfelder

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein
25 March 1936

Dear Dr Thierfelder,

It is time for me to return to India, but before I do so, I feel that I must say a few words in a frank but friendly manner.

When I first visited Germany in 1933, I had hopes that the new German nation which had risen to a consciousness of its national strength and self-respect, would instinctively feel a deep sympathy for other nations struggling in the same direction. Today I regret that I have to return to India with the conviction that the new nationalism of Germany is not only narrow and selfish but arrogant. The recent speech of Herr Hitler in Munich gives the essence of Nazi philosophy. I know that the Deutsche Nachrichtenburo has sent a dementi relating to this speech, to India and to

Japan. But we do not accept this dementi, because it has not been published in the British or in the German press. The new racial philosophy which has a very weak scientific foundation stands for the glorification of the white races in general and the German race in particular. Herr Hitler has talked of the destiny of white races to rule over the rest of the world. But the historical fact is that up till now the Asiatics have dominated Europe more than have the Europeans dominated Asia. One has only to consider the repeated invasions of Europe by Mongols, the Turks, the Arabs (Moors), the Huns, and other Asiatic races to understand the strength of my argument. I am saying this not because I stand for the domination of one people by another, but simply because I want to point out that it is historically false to say that Europe and Asia should not be at peace with one another. It therefore pains us that the new nationalism in Germany is inspired by selfishness and racial arrogance. Herr Hitler in his *Mein Kampf* denounced Germany's old colonial policy. But Nazi Germany has begun to talk of her old colonies.

Apart from this new racial philosophy and selfish nationalism there is another factor which affects us even more. Germany in her desire to curry favour with Great Britain finds it convenient to attack India and the Indian people. We have had repeated examples of this in the history of the National Socialist Party. The attempt began nearly ten years ago when the party published a pamphlet in English for propaganda in England consisting of anti-Indian passages from the books of Herr Hitler and Dr Rosenberg.

I have great regard for the work that you and the Deutsche Akademie have been doing for an understanding between our two countries. But I feel sorry, that owing to the reasons given above, much of this work is being undone. I can only hope that in the long run your efforts will prevail; but the present atmosphere in Germany is rather disappointing for us. The older generation who had been brought up under the influence of a different racial and political philosophy are quite different from the people who are trained under the influence of a new and different philosophy—racial and political. I know that we shall not lose our old friends, but I doubt if we shall gain new ones from among the new genera-

tion. According to our past experience, the Germans were a very warm-hearted people, particularly friendly to Indians. But do we know what will happen when the new education has had its full effect on the rising generation?

I am extremely thankful to you for the efforts you made in arranging the meeting in January last. I had two long meetings with Ministerialdirektor Dieckhoff and Gesandter Dr Prufer. Both of them were personally very cordial to me, as on former occasions. But the result of the interview was practically nil. I left them with the conviction that they attached very little importance to the Indian question. I also had the feeling that if an understanding with India is to be realized, some other Ministry or Ministries should be approached.

After the speech of Herr Hitler, I have issued a very strong statement to the Indian press which I hope will be published in due course. But I would like to say this before I leave Europe that I am still prepared to work for an understanding between Germany and India. This understanding must be consistent with our national self-respect. When we are fighting the greatest Empire in the world for our freedom and for our rights and when we are confident of our ultimate success, we cannot brook any insult from any other nation or any attack on our race or culture.

I am an optimist and I still hope that the present atmosphere will change and we shall ultimately arrive at an understanding. Meanwhile I assure you of my warmest esteem and of the great regard I have for the work of the Deutsche Akademie. You need not take the trouble of replying to this letter because within a few days I shall be on my way and on my arrival in India, I shall in all probability be imprisoned.

With warmest compliments

I am

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

PS The above represents not only my personal views but also the views of Indian nationalists in general. I have no objection if you

forward a copy of this letter to any friends or any state department in order to inform them about the Indian attitude towards Germany.

S.C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Villach Station
26.3.36

Frau N.C. Vetter
Wien – IX
Wahringer Str. 41

My dear Mrs Vetter,

I am now on my way and am waiting for the connecting train. It is a rather tedious journey. I am sorry I had to leave Gastein—the weather was so glorious and the baths were doing me good. Hope you are out of bed by now. The authorities were rather inquisitive about me of late. However, in a few hours I shall be out of their domain. Please accept warmest regards and tender them to Dr Vetter also. Heartfelt thanks for your kindness and deep solicitude. I am now on a pilgrimage—so there is no worry.

Ever yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To E. Woods

Lloyd Triestino
Piroscafo 'Conte Verde'
30.3.36

Dear Mrs Woods,

I was delighted to receive your letter of the 22nd before I left Badgastein. The cuttings you sent were interesting.

We are now on the high seas. It is beautiful and sunny here—the blue sky above—the blue sea all round and one single ship cutting her way through the winds and the waves. The boat is full of Italians—some of whom are probably going to their doom in the wilds of Abyssinia. There are a few Indians and no Englishmen.

I often think of the days I spent in Dublin. It is like a dream and those went so quickly. I am grateful most of all to you for making my stay there so interesting and pleasant. What I like most in you was that there was one spirit running through the whole family—one does not always find this. Your sons and daughters were all equally kind.

You said that Enda would write—but he has not written. He need not write now, because he will get into the bad books of the Government of India and the Indian police will not pass a letter coming from Ireland.

I have written to Madame twice, but have not heard from her in reply. Perhaps she was not well enough to write.

Thanks for the other two papers you sent separately.

In case you get a secondhand copy of *Annals of an Active Life*, please send it to my brother Mr Sarat Bose, 1 Woodburn Park, Calcutta. Of course, you must register it.

In case you meet Mr Alex Lynn, please tell him how much I appreciated his speeches and his wonderful humour.

I hope you have got the letter which I wrote from Badgastein informing you about my decision to go home and face the music there. I have issued a press statement for India explaining my decision about going home. It should appear in all the papers, if it is not intercepted. Please look out for it—as I am sure it would interest you.

I am sure you will do useful work if you continue hammering. I am afraid that we can expect nothing from Miss M. and I am sorry that she has so much influence over Madame. However, you must go on doing your best and the result will certainly be encouraging to you.

Regarding the French correspondence I spoke to you about, I hope that either you or Miss Eileen have informed the two ladies in question—so that they will not be taken aback.

And when are you coming to India for a visit? If you do not come yourself, you must send a representative from your family.

We shall reach Port Said tomorrow, where I shall post this letter. On the 8th April we shall be in Bombay.

Please accept my warmest regards and give my cordial greetings to all the youngsters, including my guardian angel.

Ever yours sincerely
Subhas C. Bose

To E. Woods

Conte Verde
Suez Canal
31.3.36

Dear Mrs Woods,

After my long letter of yesterday I am again writing today because I have something interesting to report. This morning when we reached Port Said, police officers came on board in search of me. My passport was seized and a policeman was told off to mount guard on me. The policeman remained on duty as long as the boat was at Port Said. When she was about to sail, he withdrew and the passport was left with the Purser. Evidently, the British who are still supreme here, did not want that I should land in Egypt or get into contact with the Egyptian leader. On former occasions, I had met the Egyptian leaders and their chief, Nahas Pasha. The incident is interesting—is it not? I did not know that I was a dangerous man even in Egypt.

You may give publicity to the above incident, if you like. After

this, you may imagine what sort of reception they will arrange in Bombay.

Kindest regards

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

PS We are now passing through the Suez Canal and shall reach Suez in the evening where I shall try to post this letter.

S.C.B.

To Santosh Kumar Sen

2.4.36

To Dr S.K. Sen
Alser Strasse 20/15
Wien IX, Autriche

My dear Dr Sen,

Enclosed please find a letter which I have addressed to the Police President of Vienna. Please have it translated into German and typed. Along with the typed translation please send the letter to the Police President by post—express and registered. But do not put any 'absender', it is not necessary. I do not know if he would care to reply. If he does reply, the answer could be kept with the rest of my mail according to my instructions to my secretary.

You must have heard of the behaviour of the police at Port Said who would not let me land there. I did not know that I was dangerous even in Egypt. You can imagine how the police will behave in Bombay.

I have not any more to write today. We have had a clear sea so far. We shall reach Massawa tomorrow and I shall post the letter there. I hope it will reach you in due course.

Hope you are all well. I posted a letter to you before reaching Port Said.

Yours affly

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

CENSORED AND PASSED
Illegible
24/4/36
Lt. Colonel, I.M.S.
Superintendent
Yeravda Central Prison

Address:
c/o D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
(Bengal)
Lord Sinha Row
Calcutta
24.4.36

Dear Mrs Vetter,

I promised to write to you after reaching India but am sorry that I cannot write under agreeable circumstances. I was arrested the moment I set foot on Indian soil. I was in a Bombay jail for a few days and was then transferred to this place—Poona—which is 4 hours' run by train from Bombay.

I really don't know what I should write, because of the censorship which hangs over my head like the sword of Damocles.

The heat here is very trying. Apart from the fact that I am never fond of the heat and that the summer in these parts is always disagreeable—in my particular case, the change has been too sudden. Less than a month ago I was walking over the thick snow at Badgastein! I wish we could give you some of our warmth and take some of your cold.

Perhaps it would interest you to know that I have been kept in the same prison and in the same yard in which Mahatma Gandhi spent most of his time when he was incarcerated.

Please remember me to all friends there to whom I cannot write separately because of the restrictions—and give them my cordial greetings. My warmest regards to President Vetter and yourself. Hope this will find you all well.

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

Yeravda Central Prison
Poona
24.4.36

To Mrs N.C. Vetter
Wahringer Strasse 41
Vienna – IX

PS In case you write to me, please address me c/o the Calcutta address given here where my letters are censored—and not to my prison address.

S.C.B.

(Proposal) to the Congress President (Rajendra Prasad)

1 May 1936

My attention has been drawn to the statement made by the Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad and by Mr Bhulabhai Desai. Regarding Indian propaganda two things are necessary: (i) accredited representatives and (ii) necessary funds. It is superfluous to say that the larger the funds the more effective can be the propaganda. Nevertheless, much useful work can be done without large funds, if only we have the will to work. As a matter of fact there are many Indians in Europe and America who have been

doing useful propaganda—some in their individual capacity and others in the name of certain organizations started by them without any grant from the Indian National Congress. If some of them could be nominated by the Indian National Congress as its representatives abroad, then even without extra funds they could render greater service to the country.

The late Mr Vithalbhai Patel always used to say that if he could have spoken in the name of the Congress, his work abroad would have been much more effective and that is also the experience of lesser people like myself. If the only difficulty confronting the Congress is lack of funds, will the Congress at least authorize me (and other workers like myself) to work and speak in the name of the Congress? In that case even without any financial grant from the Congress we could render greater service to our country and give a better account of ourselves. I am putting a straight question to the Congress President and beg of him to give me a straight answer.

To Tushar Kanti Ghosh

18 May 1936

My dear Tushar Babu,

You will perhaps like to have a line as to how I have been keeping. In the first place, I have been suffering greatly from the heat and there does not seem to be any help for it. Secondly there is a lack of sufficient exercise. I have applied to the Govt. for permission to have walks within the jail walls and am awaiting a reply. I am afraid that lack of sufficient exercise may again upset my health and am therefore hoping that I shall get the necessary permission.

[The rest of this letter was not available. – Eds.]

To Jawaharlal Nehru

c/o The Superintendent of Police
Darjeeling
30 June 1936

My dear Jawahar,

I was delighted to receive your letter of the 22nd inst. which reached me on the 27th. From the papers I gathered that you were overworking yourself and I was feeling concerned about your health. I am glad that you went to Mussoorie for a rest, though a short one. I can appreciate how difficult it is for you to avoid overworking yourself; nevertheless, I do hope that you will not strain yourself too much. It will not help anyone if you have a breakdown.

What you have said about your brother-in-law, Ranjit, is most unwelcome. However, it is some relief to know that doctors do not apprehend anything serious. Let us hope that change and rest will help him to recover.

I am fairly well here. There is some slight trouble with my bowels and I have also had a touch of flu (which may be only throat infection)—but these will go in time.

If you have any of the following books in your library and could conveniently spare them, please send me one or two at a time:

1. *Historical Geography of Europe* by Gordon East
2. *Clash of Cultures and Contact of Races* by Pitt Rivers
3. *Short History of our Times* by J.A. Spender
4. *World Politics 1918–33* by R.P. Dutt
5. *Science and the Future* by J.B.S. Haldane
6. *Africa View* by Huxley
7. *Genghis (Chenghis)* Khan by Ralph Fox
8. *The Duty of Empire* by Barnes

You may substitute any other interesting books which have come out recently in place of the above. Correspondence or books should be sent c/o Superintendent of Police, Darjeeling.

Hope this will find you better. With love.

Yours affectionately

Subhas

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Allahabad

CENSORED AND PASSED
Sd . . . .
Supdt of Police
Darjeeling

To Naomi C. Vetter

CENSORED AND PASSED
Illegible
6/7
Supdt of Police
Darjeeling

c/o The Superintendent of Police
Darjeeling
Bengal, India
5 July 1936

Dear Mrs Vetter,

I wonder if you have received the letter I wrote from the Yeravada Prison, Poona, on the 24th April last. Since then I have been transferred to a place near Darjeeling to the north of Bengal. Mrs Hargrove has written to say that you are now in Czechoslovakia and that probably explains why I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you in reply. I understand that the summer in Vienna has not been a favourable one this year up till now. How did you find it in Czechoslovakia?

This place is about 1,000 metres above the sea-level. It is on the Himalayan range and has a pleasant climate—though there is too much rain. They say that it has only two seasons in the year—namely, winter and rains. I am 'interned' in a house belonging to my brother. Though there are several restrictions here, it is of course a great improvement on regular prison-life.

Austria is nowadays often in our Indian papers. There seems to be great interest in the tug-of-war going on between the Heimwehr and clerical parties there. There was a prediction in some papers that the Emperor would return to 'Hofburg' or 'Schonbrunn Palace' by autumn. But you know, of course, what value should be attached to these newspaper predictions.

There is little that I can write to you from here, but perhaps you could write to me something interesting from there. How are you and Dr Vetter?

With kindest regards for both.

I am

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

PS Please note change of address.

S.C.B.

Mrs N.C. Vetter
Vienna

To Satyendra Nath Majumdar*

CENSORED AND PASSED
Illegible
Superintendent of Police
Darjeeling

c/o Superintendent of Police
Darjeeling
18.7.36

Dear Friend,

I received your letter of 12th June quite some time ago. The delay in replying to you is entirely my fault, please forgive me for it. Earlier also I did not write to you for a long time and there was no lapse on your part, I was at fault. I feel very much more comfortable here, particularly after the heat at Poona. But the abdominal trouble is persisting and there is, most probably a throat infection. I am taking emetine injections for the bowels and for the throat autovaccine is being prepared. Let us see if there is any improvement.

I think of you very often. Only God knows when we shall meet again. I need hardly say that I shall be happy to hear from you from time to time. But if I do not reply regularly, please forgive me.

I made enquiries about Ananda Bazaar after coming here. But I am told no agent receives Ananda Bazaar here. With love.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

Mr Satyendra N. Majumdar

* Translated from the original Bengali

To Kitty Kurti

CENSORED AND PASSED
Supdt of Police
Darjeeling

c/o The Superintendent of Police
Darjeeling
India
25 July 1936

Dear Mrs Kurti,

It was extremely kind of you to write to me. Your letter of the 25th May reached me some time ago. I am sorry for being so late in replying. How did you come to know of what happened to me in India? I did not think you read the English papers and I did not write to you after I reached Bombay. Was there any news in the Berlin papers?

I am greatly interested to learn from your letter that you are going to publish your poems and your articles on psychology. I wonder if I told you that I was a student of Psychology—but latterly owing to my political work, I had to neglect it. Since I came here I have been trying to read some Psychology again. At the present moment I am studying Freud's book on *Dreams* and also applying his theory to the interpretation of my own dreams. Can you please tell me if any other psychologist has developed further Freud's theory about the analysis and interpretation of dreams? If so, please let me know the names of any books that have been published on the subject and if there is any translation in English. I do not think that any work has been done by English psychologists—but it is possible that German or French or Austrian psychologists have continued and developed Freud's work on *Dreams.*

There is another thing which would interest me greatly, but I hesitate to ask you because it is a rather personal question. I would like to know the names of your teachers in Psychology and also where you took your examinations.

I have a purpose in asking this question. The subject in which you are interested, namely Educational Psychology, should be of

interest to many men and women all over the world. If you could make a useful study without being a regular student of a university (I have the impression that you have not been a regular student at a university for your studies in Psychology)—there is no reason why other people, who may feel interested in the subject, but cannot join a university as a regular student, cannot follow your example and make a useful study of Psychology.

I shall be greatly interested to know what you think of Dr Jung when you meet him in Zurich. Have you met him before? By the way, can you let me know Dr Jung's latest book or brochure on psycho-analytical problems? How far has he developed his own ideas on Freud's conception of repression and Freud's method of psycho-analysis? I am quite unfamiliar with his work during the last ten years.

With the books of Arthur Avalon I am of course familiar, but I have not read anything of Heinrich Zimmer. What are his books and have they been translated into English? Did you read Avalon's books in English?

You have referred to C.G. Jung's books *Soul Problems of the Present Time* and *Reality of the Soul*. This is not the same man as the Zurich psychologist, I think. Are these two books on purely psychological problems or on philosophical? And who is this Jung and where does he work? I shall enquire if the Calcutta University Library has these two books.

Are you interested in Educational methods, in addition to educational psychology? If you are, I shall recommend to you some people whom you could meet in Switzerland, who are working at new methods of education.

Did you read Schweitzer's latest book on *Indian Mysticism and Ethics* which came out in German last year? How did you like it?

Have you read any of the works of Prof. Hauer? I think he is Professor of Sanskrit at the Göttingen University and is connected with the Glaubensbeurgung. Is public interest in his ideas on the increase or on the decline?

I think I have written a sufficiently long letter to make up for my long silence. I hope you will be able to read my handwriting. Please excuse me for the many questions I have asked.

I believe you are now having a busy time in Berlin in connection with the Olympic games.

Kindest regards to Mr Kurti and yourself.

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

Mrs Kitty Kurti
Berlin

PS If you mislay my present address, you can always write to my home address, 1 Woodburn Park, Calcutta, from where it will be forwarded to me.

S.C.B.

To George Da Silva, Vice-President, Mahokoshal Provincial Congress Committee

19 August 1936

Since I wrote to you last, I have received a report from the Bacteriologist at Darjeeling as well as the autovaccine he has prepared from a throat swab. I have been advised to take eight injections of this stuff. He has found simultaneously the following bacilli:- Pneumo-bacillus, Pneumo-coccus, Strepto- coccus, Micro-coccus Catarrhalis, staphylococcus and some diphtheroid bacilli. The attending physician told me that though some of these bacilli can be found in a normal man, seems that what I first thought were influenza symptoms are really due to throat infection. If so, there is not much to worry about; otherwise, I shall have to turn to the lungs, as the symptoms of evening feverishness and slight cough and loss of weight may point to that direction as well. However, I am now hoping for the best.

I have discontinued the emetine injections for the present and am taking the other injections from the autovaccine. But I shall have to take another course of emetine as the first course has not done me any appreciable good and the intestinal trouble is persisting.

To a friend in Calcutta

4 September 1936

My health is much the same as when you saw me here. The throat trouble has not been cured, in spite of the injections of autovaccine. The Civil Surgeon of Darjeeling came to see me after you visited me. He thinks that throat-infection is the root of the trouble and has advised another autovaccine to be prepared for the throat. Regarding my abdominal trouble and a pain in the region of the liver he thought that it was the after-effect of the operation I had last year in Vienna. He also advised another course of emetine injections. I shall continue this treatment for another month and if I do not improve, I shall have to think seriously what to do.

To Santosh Kumar Sen

CENSORED AND PASSED
Sd/
Supdt. of Police
Darjeeling

The Superintendent of Police
Darjeeling
5 September 1936

My dear Dr Sen,

I am writing this to trouble you on behalf of a friend, Mr Girija Prasanna Sanyal. An advocate of the Calcutta High Court is proceeding to Vienna shortly for treatment for acute and chronic . . . (that is how best I could describe his ailment). He is a classmate and personal friend of my elder brother, Sarat. He intends leaving by Conte Verde which sails from Bombay on the 10th September and he will therefore reach the port of destination (Venice or Genoa) on or about the 21st inst. He should accordingly reach Vienna the

next day. He wants to consult some Indian doctors there about the best man under whom he should place himself. I have not been able to advise him on this point, not having experienced friends in Vienna. He has heard of Professor Van Noorden who has the reputation of being a diet specialist of international fame but I have no information as to whether he is a Joint specialist. You can easily find out who would be the best man to take charge of Mr Sanyal and advise him accordingly.

I have given him (Mr Sanyal) your former residential address in Alser Strasse as well as your address c/o American Medical Association and have asked him to write to you or telegraph to you indicating the time of your arrival in Vienna. If you hear from him it will be all right. If you don't, you could still track him because you could find out easily from Lloyd Triestino's office in Vienna as to when the next train to Vienna starts from there. You could then meet him at the station. I have also suggested to him that he could put up at Hotel De France should he find nobody at the station to meet him. You are therefore to leave and arrive up there on his arrival. If Conte Verde is full and he cannot secure any accommodation, he will probably take the next boat.

Hope you are quite well. I am sure you will do your best for him. I need not write more. Kindest remembrances to all friends.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To
Dr S.K. Sen
Vienna

To George Da Silva, Vice-President, Mahokoshal Provincial Congress Committee

c/o The Superintendent of Police
Darjeeling
11 Sept. 1936

My dear Doctor,

I owe you an apology for neglecting to reply to two of your letters. That of the 6th August reached me on the 11th August and that of the 16th August reached me on the 27th August.

Since I wrote to you last, I have completed the course of autovaccine injections. They have not produced any effect and another vaccine may have to be prepared. But I have now begun to doubt if these vaccines will really tackle the root of the infection. Sir Nilratan Sircar and the Civil Surgeon of Darjeeling jointly examined me on the 9th inst. They have sent their report to Government, I think. I do not yet know what their findings are. When I come to know, I shall inform you, as they might interest you as a medical man.

You have enquired about the record of my weight. It is as follows: 1) April 15, Yeravda Prison – 174½ lbs., 2) Middle of June, Kurseong – 171 lbs., 3) End of July, Kurseong – 168 lbs., 4) 9th September, Kurseong – 164 lbs. My normal weight before my physical ailments started in 1932 was much more than my weight at the time of admission into Seoni Jail in January 1921, being 185 lbs.

Yes, the other complaints about which I wrote to you in my last letter are persisting—namely, slow fever and a dull pain in the region of the liver. This pain is independent of meals and is of a different type from the acute gall-bladder pain from which I used to suffer before and which disappeared after the removal of the gall-bladder. At the present moment, I am repeating the course of emetine injections and both my arms are aching as a result of these frequent pricks. Unfortunately for the patients, you doctors set store by these injections and we have to submit to your tyranny.

We had warm sunshine for a couple of days and have again been overtaken by a spell of wretched squally weather. We are hoping that this is the last kick of this year's monsoon. But one can never tell. In this part, rainy weather may continue till the end of September. Hope you are all well there. With kindest regards.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

Dr George Da Silva
Jubbulpore

To Amar Krishna Ghose

30 September 1936

My dear Amar Babu,

I was interested to learn that you were seeking re-election to the Board of the Reserve Bank of India. I earnestly hope that you will succeed this time also and I wish you the best of luck. You can understand that in my present circumstances, I cannot be of any help to you—nor do I know if I have any influence at all with your electors. However, I hope that your friends and supporters on the last occasion will stand by you on this occasion as well and will succeed in getting you elected. There is much useful and constructive work that you could do as a member of the Board. My best wishes are with you.

My health has not been satisfactory for some time past. Hope you are all doing well.

To Tushar Kanti Ghosh

8 November 1936

My dear Tushar Babu,

I was under the impression that I had replied to your last letter and that you had stopped writing—but on going through my file, I discovered that I was to blame, not having answered your letter received long ago. However, I now hasten to make amends for it.

The Durga Puja has come and gone and you must be back at your desk to attend your daily drudgery. A state prisoner's vacation, however, has no break.

Please accept my Bijoya love and greetings and convey same to all the members of your family. How are you all?

There is nothing new to report about my health except that there has been a further drop in my weight. My Sciatica is, however, much better so that I can move about now.

Yours affectionately

Subhas C. Bose

To Sarat Chandra Bose

c/o The Supt. of Police
Darjeeling
4.12.36

My dear Mejdada,

Your letter of the 27th Nov. was to hand on the 2nd inst. The missing letter was duly passed and posted in Darjeeling. It was addressed to Hotel Cecil, Simla. Probably the Hotel people have not forwarded it to you.

Mr Kripalani sent me the identical letter through the Supt. of Police, Darjeeling. I got it on the 1st Dec. and replied at once withdrawing my candidature, so that the election may be uncontested. I hope he will get the letter in time.

There has been a slight improvement in the weather since I wrote to you last. We have been getting 2 or 3 hours' sunshine in the morning for 7 or 8 days. Even that is thrice welcome. I have not had any further attack of sciatica. I am taking all possible precaution. It is pretty cold now—but I would not mind that—I would rather like it—if I could have some sunshine along with that.

It is necessary for North Calcutta to look out for a substitute, because I have not altered my opinion. It is useless to put me up for the Bengal Assembly when I am a state-prisoner.

I am greatly interested to know that Mrs Fülop Miller will be arriving in Calcutta shortly. It will be, of course, very good of her to come up here to see me, but I am afraid it will mean too much trouble for her and you may dissuade her. If she had known the country and a little of the language—it would have been a different matter. If she is very keen on coming here, please consider if she could come spend a week-end here. In that case, Amit and preferably one of the girls will have to accompany her. She could then utilize her trip here to visit Darjeeling as well. If you approve of the idea, Ami could go and see the Additional Secretary, Mr Blair, personally and ask for the necessary permission. A personal interview will simplify and expedite matters considerably. Failing this, it will be much too much trouble for Mrs Fülop Miller to come here—I am afraid. Ordinarily, an interview lasts for an hour. What will she do the whole day in Kurseong and where and how will she spend the time? Please consider the matter carefully and advise Mrs Fülop Miller accordingly. I hope she will feel at home while she is your guest.

Hope you are all well. My health is much the same, but I have lost some more pounds.

Yours affly

Subhas

S.C. Bose Esq.
Calcutta

This letter was written from the detention camp at Giddhapahar, Kurseong in the District of Darjeeling.

To Sitaram Sakseria

c/o D.C.S.B., C.I.D.
14 Lord Sinha Road
Calcutta
26.12.36

My dear Sitaramji,

I am very glad to receive your letter of the 15th inst., and appreciate its contents. It is only the affection of friends like yourself that has sustained me through all my unhappy experiences. I am afraid that I shall still have to wait long for the day when I can meet you as a free man. Meanwhile, I shall have to put up patiently with what comes my way. You know probably the usual conditions under which an interview is ordinarily granted to a state prisoner. An interview with friends under such conditions is no attraction for me or for anyone and I think you will agree with me on this point. Why then trouble about seeking an interview with me?

As you probably know from the papers, I am now under treatment in the Calcutta Medical College Hospital.

With affectionate 'Namaskar' to all friends and yourself.

I am

Yours very sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

Sjt. Sitaram Sakseria
Calcutta.

To Kitty Kurti

Calcutta Medical College Hospital
5 Jan. 1937

Dear Mrs Kurti,

I got your long and interesting letter some time ago and am sorry

for the delay in replying to it. I also got the list of books on Psychology which you kindly sent me. In the meantime, I have been brought down to a Hospital in Calcutta, because I was not keeping good health at the place where I was interned near Darjeeling. I have been here since the middle of December last. I do not know how long I shall be staying here, but in all probability my stay will not be a long one. So, when you write to me again, please do so to my home address:- 1 Woodburn Park, Calcutta. They will forward the letter to me wherever I may happen to be at the time.

I am glad to know that you were on the Tatra Mountains. It must be very pretty there, judging from the pictures.

I am feeling slightly better since coming here. The doctors are now doing a thorough examination in order to find out what is troubling me. One of my troubles is a bad throat, i.e. septic tonsils.

When are you going to meet the psychologist Dr Jung? If you go to Geneva, you should try to visit Dr and Mrs P. Geheeb. They were formerly running an international school at Odenwald in Germany. Now they have left Germany and taken charge of a school near Geneva. It is called Institute Monnier in Versoix which is less than half an hour's train journey or taxi drive from Geneva. You will certainly like the Geheebs and their school. I was there also and liked them very much.

I have not been able to do much study of late owing to my health—but I was reading Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* again and also trying to analyze some of my dreams. Did you meet old Freud in Vienna? If so, how did you like him and what did you talk about?

I shall close here today. Kind regards to Mr Kurti and yourself.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

Mrs Kitty Kurti
Berlin

✉

To Rabindra Nath Tagore

c/o D.C., S.B. (Calcutta)
14 Lord Sinha Road
Calcutta
30.1.37

Revered Sir,

I was extremely happy to receive your 'Sanchayita.' That you have remembered me is a matter of great joy for me. Moreover, I feel deeply obliged to have received your blessings in your own hand.

You are certainly aware that we are always deeply concerned about the state of your health. Please accept my respectful pronams.

Yours affectionately

Subhas Chandra Bose

Medical College Hospital
Calcutta

To Naomi C. Vetter

CENSORED AND PASSED
Illegible
4.2.37
for D.C.S.B.

Medical College Hospital
Calcutta
3 February 1937

Dear Mrs Vetter,

I was happy to receive your long and interesting letter of the 2nd January on the 28th ultimo. Since I wrote to you last, I have been brought down to Calcutta. At present I am in the Medical College Hospital, where I have been since the middle of last December. I

do not know how long I shall be here, so when you write again, you may send it to my home address: 1 Woodburn Park, Calcutta,—from where my mail will be forwarded to me. At present I have no idea whatever as to where I shall be taken next.

I have been undergoing examination and treatment since I came here. They have found some trouble in throat and liver for which I am receiving treatment. Now my eyes are giving me trouble and I am going to be examined tomorrow. I have lost some weight since I returned to India—about 10 kilos—but the doctors here say that there is no trouble with the lungs and they tell me that I need not be anxious for the loss of weight. So I tell myself that I have been slimming, as is the fashion in Europe!

There is little that I can tell you which you would be interested in. Mrs Fülop Miller was in Calcutta recently and she was my brother's guest during her stay in this city. Government were good enough to give her special permission to see me—so she came to see me in Hospital several times. She left Calcutta about ten days ago and will undertake a long tour throughout the country. She will not be coming to this part of the country again.

On the whole, I am feeling slightly better since coming here. I am glad to be able to meet my relatives here—who could not go up to Darjeeling-especially my mother. Since my mother is not able to move about, Government have allowed me to visit her twice a week at home. Of course, I have to go and return under police escort.

I am sorry to hear of your illness again and your old trouble. It is good, I think, that the winter has not been so severe this year in Vienna and I earnestly hope that with the touch of spring, you will begin to feel better. I send my warmest wishes for your speedy recovery.

Lest I forget, may I ask one question? The Indian papers published the news some time ago that Chancellor Schussnig was secretly married at Mariazell some months ago. The news did not come through the regular news agency—so I do not know if it is idle gossiping. Nowadays there is so much of idle gossiping going on in Europe about people who are prominent in the public eye.

The heavy tourist traffic in Austria about which you have

written is good for the Austrian Railways and also for the Austrian Government who will thereby augment their revenues. It is also a very good habit (or craze) and I wish that we in India could imbibe some of this craze.

I am eager to know what book Dr Vetter is working at. When does he expect to bring it out?

Many thanks for the booklet about Vienna which you kindly sent me. As a matter of fact, I have received two booklets—one containing only pictures and the other a calendar with pictures. The Censor did not send me the covers and I could not therefore understand who sent them. I presume that the former was sent by you.

Please let me have more news about your health. I hope Dr Vetter is feeling fit, as also your daughter and son-in-law. With warmest regards.

I am

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

Mrs N.C. Vetter
Vienna

To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Maulik

CENSORED AND PASSED
Signature illegible

c/o D.C. S.B. (Cal.)
14 Lord Sinha Road
Calcutta
22.2.37

My dear Sunil,

I received your three letters some time ago but as there was hardly anything to write about, I did not reply. How are you all?

I suppose you have now left the city and become a villager—

although Panchthupi cannot strictly be called a village. How is the health over there now? In Calcutta there was an outbreak of chicken pox, etc.

I was in the Calcutta Medical College Hospital for the past two months. Since coming here my abdominal condition has improved and the throat is also somewhat better. However, other symptoms are persisting, viz., loss of weight and fever. Let us see what happens. I have no idea how long I shall have to be here.

Please accept my sincere love.

With best wishes

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

Sunil Mohan Ghosh Maulik
Panchthupi
Murshidabad.

To Kitty Kurti

Calcutta
17 March 1937

Dear Mrs Kurti,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 30th January which I received on the 3rd March and your suggestions regarding treatment. Yes, I have heard a great deal about Bircher Benner of Zürich. His system is likely to do more good to Europeans—who ordinarily consume a lot of meat and wine—than to me, who eats meat sparingly (or not at all) and do not ordinarily touch liquor. Nevertheless, I agree with what you have said about fruit, salad etc. and I have been following that kind of diet. Regarding other points, I have to wait till such time when I am free to follow my own line of diet and treatment.

Yes, I have some nice friends in Zürich. They believe in 'nature-cure' and vegetarian diet and have a cosmopolitan outlook on life. They also have a colony of their own at Basseradorf, which is 20

minutes or so by train from Zürich. Please get into touch with Mr Werner Zimmerman and give him my warmest greetings. I am giving his old address and I hope he will still be there:

Mr Werner Zimmerman
Wirschaftsring Genossenscheft Zürich, Postfach 36F
Hauptbahnhof, Zürich
(Tel. F3521)

If you happen to go to Zürich and meet Dr Jung, please give me your impressions of the man and his work on Psychology. Do you know if there is an English translation of Rolland's book—*The Enchanted Soul*?

Since you are studying Graphology now, why not analyze me as well?

Please write to me more about Freud and his family—at least about those whom you have met.

I am glad that you can move about now. Why don't you go to North America as well—it will be a change from the European atmosphere. After all, the 'New World' is different from the old (Europe).

I can understand that you are feeling tired of town life—especially in a place like Berlin. It must therefore be a great relief to you to go into the country for some weeks. You will probably be in Switzerland when this reaches Berlin—but I hope it will be forwarded to you in due course.

I am still in Hospital in Calcutta but I expect to be transferred elsewhere—though I don't know where. My health is much the same as before. Please convey my regards and greetings to Mr Kurti and accept same yourself. Many thanks for your poems.

Please write to my permanent home address:

1 Woodburn Park
Calcutta

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

Mrs Kitty Kurti
Berlin

To Naomi C. Vetter

1 Woodburn Park
Calcutta
5 April 1937

My dear Mrs Vetter,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 17th and 22nd March which came by airmail. Since my sudden release on the 17th March, I have been besieged by visitors and have had no time to attend to my correspondence. I am therefore sorry for not writing to you earlier. I am writing a few lines by airmail so that you may know that I have heard from you and that I often think of you all.

My health is not yet satisfactory and I shall soon be leaving for a change to some hill-station in the north.

I was surprised at the news which you gave of Mrs Askanasy. It was a surprise to me to hear that the Jews now regard Russia as anti-Jew.

Please accept my warmest thanks for your congratulatory message. The day you began writing—that is, the 17th March—I was set free. A week ago, I sent you some cuttings, giving news of my release and also a copy of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*. Do you get the C.M.G. nowadays?

I am enclosing another cutting from an Indian paper published in English giving news of Chancellor Schussing.

The doctors have allowed me to attend just one public meeting. The Calcutta public are arranging a mammoth gathering in the open air for tomorrow when they will present an address of welcome. After that I shall leave Calcutta. The civic reception (municipal) will have to be put off till I return to Calcutta after a few months. With warmest greetings and best regards.

Ever yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

PS I shall send you press cuttings this week. I am now free in every way except that all my correspondence is secretly censored by the police.

S.C.B.

To Sita Dharmavir

Lahore
9.5.37

My dear Sita,

I hope you will not mind my addressing you in this familiar way. They tell me that you are a big personality now—a full-fledged doctor running something called a hospital etc. And that makes me nervous.

However, I am writing this just to tell you how terribly you are being missed here. We see something of Leila occasionally nowadays (I mean Leila in sari, not in frock) but we can see nothing of you. Perhaps to make up for it, Leila has condescended to spend the week end with us here and we have to be thankful for small mercies in this hard matter-of-fact world of ours. We cannot expect more because Leila, too, I am told is following in your footsteps and has much more important things to do than simply stay home and talk shop. And as long as I am not free to do what I like and go where I please, my sympathy is naturally with the stay-at-home folks.

I shall stop here now and send you my love in return. We shall soon be going to the hilltops and leave you to the mercy of the sun, the heat and the dust. If you come there, we shall welcome you. If you don't, we shall miss you. That's all.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

PS There was a controversy here as to whether or not I like you and Leila to wear saries. Opinion is divided on this point. What do you think about it? Was doctor in favour of sari or frock?

To Dr Miss Sita Dharmavir
Lucknow

✉

To E. Woods

Lahore
11.5.37

Dear Mrs Woods,

I could not write to you since my return to India for obvious reasons. It was very good of you to keep on enquiring about me, nevertheless. I was in prison for 2 months and then was 'interned' in my brother's villa in a solitary place on the hillside near Darjeeling. I was brought down to a Calcutta Hospital for treatment in December last—and after three months, I was released on the 17th March last. After that, I was in Calcutta for several weeks and am now on my way to a hill-station in the north-west. My health is not satisfactory and it will take some months to recoup my health. My address during the next few weeks will be:

c/o Dr N.R. Dharmavir
Dalhousie
Punjab, India

For some weeks last year, I received some Irish papers. They were passed by the Censor. And then they suddenly stopped. From the *Irish Press*, also from the Indian papers, I learnt about the marriage of your daughter Eileen with Dr Dey. Though it is so late, I desire to convey my heartiest and warmest congratulations to the couple and wish them a long, happy and prosperous life. I suppose Mrs Dey is now in England with her husband.

I have given all news about myself and now it is your turn to write. Please let me know how you all are getting on (Enda included). The papers here have been writing about the new Constitution.

How is Madame? Please give her my warmest regards. There is nothing new to write about India beyond what you will find in the Indian papers—which I dare say you still get. The last elections showed the strength of the Congress Party. In spite of the policy of 'divide and rule' embodied in the Constitution, the Congress Party secured an absolute majority in 6 out of 11 provinces and in

the rest, they are in a strong minority. But the Party has refused to accept office in the 'majority' provinces until the Governors give an assurance that they will not interfere in the work of the ministers. This assurance is not yet forthcoming. The Federal part of the Constitution has not come into force yet—but only the 'provincial' part of it.

What about the League? Please send me any Irish papers which you think would be interesting and also a copy of the new Irish Constitution.

Remember me kindly to all friends there.

Very sincerely yours

Subhas C. Bose

To V. Lesny

c/o Dr N.R. Dharamvir
Dalhousie, Punjab
20 May 1937

My dear Professor,

I have been thinking of writing to you ever since my sudden release about 2 months ago—but I have been rather busy all these days. I met Mr Mazumdar in Calcutta after my release and conveyed your greetings to him.

I have now come to a hill-station in the north-west about 6700 feet (2000 metres) above sea-level. I shall be here for some months, trying to recoup my health before I resume my normal activity.

I am glad to know that you have been elected Dean of the Philosophical Faculty at the University. Please accept my warmest congratulations.

Please convey my sincerest regards to Mrs Lesny and accept

same yourself. When are you coming this way again? Hope you are quite well. Kindly forward the enclosed letter to Mr Nambiar.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

Prof. Dr Lesny
Praha

To Sita Dharmavir

Dalhousie
22.5.37

My dear Sita,

I was very glad to receive your letter and more so from the way you addressed me. I was discussing with Didi if 'mama' was *illegible* . . . the Bengali or in the Punjabi language. So could not . . . not decide. Perhaps you *illegible* some light.

I wonder if you had the whole story about Sandy. It was a sight to see Didi carrying a big basket with the head of a cat popping out at intervals. I offered to carry the basket out of a sense of chivalry, but that was not possible, because only she could manage her pet cat and that too with the greatest difficulty. So, to avoid the display of allowing a lady to carry a heavy package, I left her to the care of Leila and went on ahead to our compartment. At that time we were hoping that once we were safely lodged in the compartment, our troubles would end. But little did we know that our troubles would then begin. As soon as the train started, the noise frightened the cat out of its wits and it began to jump about. If it had been left alone, we have no doubt that it would have jumped out of the compartment. But that was not to be (I am not sure that I would have regretted it at the time). It was, of course, no trouble to the two of us, doctor and myself, because we slept as best as we could. But Didi had a nice time hugging the cat to herself

all the night. Only when the train stopped at a station, would the cat be quiet. However, by the time she reached Pathankot, that cat had left its marks on the sari and on her person. Her sari was not examined, but there were plenty of bruises on both her arms which we could not help but notice when we arrived here. However, let me stop here and move on to some other topics.

I am not sure you are as safe as you are trying to make out. As for being a personality, that is for other people to judge.

Yes, I like Dalhousie and hope I shall benefit considerably. I am already feeling better.

The snaps I sent you of Dilip were taken in Pondicherry.

You need not be too . . . about running a hospital. I have been in hospitals long enough to know that it is really the house physicians and house surgeons who run them.

I shall now close today as I must catch the mail and the man is waiting. With love.

Yours affly
Subhas

To Naomi C. Vetter

c/o Dr N.R. Dharmavir
Dalhousie
Punjab
27.5.37

My dear Mrs Vetter,

For once I am at fault, because I have not written a really long letter for some time—though you have been kind enough to write more than once. The fact is that since my release, I have been terribly busy with meeting friends. My correspondence is all piled up—and occasionally I dash off a few lines to a few friends. I am hoping to settle down soon and then to attend properly to my correspondence.

As you know, I was released on the 17th March. I did not cable the news to any friends in Europe, because the news-agency would do it for the foreign papers and I was sure that N. being a good friend, would make it a point to inform my friends in Vienna. Actually he did that and you need not have doubted the accuracy of the news. It would have taken you nearly a month to get the same news through the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette.*

I was in Calcutta for more than a month—partly for resting and partly for enjoying the company of relatives and friends. Then I left for Allahabad towards the end of April—to meet Mahatma Gandhi and attend a Party meeting. After a few days I left for Lahore (north-west) where I halted for 10 days. Then I reached this place on the 12 May. Dalhousie is a hill-station to the north of Lahore and about 2000 metres high on the Himalayan range. I intend staying here with some friends until I am well enough to return to work.

I read with very great interest what you wrote on the 17th March last—namely that you expected that I would be released soon. And when you wrote that, little did you know that I would be a free man the same day. My release came rather unexpectedly—because people had become tired of hoping for my release and so had I. But I had told Mother that I would either be released in March or not before another six months.

Before I forget, I want to tell you that Dr B.C. Roy, a friend of ours, an Ex-Mayor of Calcutta and a distinguished physician of Calcutta, will be in Vienna some time in June (next month). I have not been able to give him an introduction or to speak to him about Dr Vetter and yourself. But I would like him to meet both of you when he is there—provided you are not away from town at the time. Will you be so good as to drop a line to him c/o K.N. Gairola, Hotel de France, asking him (Dr Roy) to get in touch with you, when he reaches Vienna. Gairola will probably look after him (Dr Roy) during his stay in Vienna. I want Dr Roy to see something of real Vienna and he should therefore get into the right hands. I am afraid that Jewish doctors may try to exploit him, if he is not forewarned.

I was greatly interested to hear about Mrs Askanasy. Is she really

thinking of migrating to the United States? Then, what will happen to her husband's business? What about her Club? Is it still existing in her absence? If she is already back in Vienna, you will get plenty of interesting stories to hear from her.

I have just finished reading the American (or is it English?) edition of Briffault's *Europa*. I liked it immensely. I now understand why Dr Vetter has been translating it. A few passages would have been marked down as erotic in the old days, but I think times and tastes are changing rapidly. I was reading a novel of Aldous Huxley the other day—*Eyeless in Gaza*. There too there were erotic passages—but the fact that that book is a good seller in England shows that even English society is not as prudish and hypocritical as it was before.

I have not heard from Mrs Hargrove for some time past, though, I think, mine was the last letter that passed between us. Will you kindly remember me to her and give me news about her health. Perhaps she is too immersed in her meditations now.

You must have seen by now your letter to the C.M.G. printed with great prominence. If ever you have time, you may always write to the paper on any topic of municipal or public importance. They will publish most gladly.

My health has been unsatisfactory even after my release—but I hope I shall improve here. This is a small and quiet place nestling in the midst of hills. From the terrace of this house, you can see the plains and rivers in the far-off distance. On the other side of the town—you see the Himalayan range—snow- capped at certain places. There are at present no restrictions at all on me—but of course I am secretly watched and my correspondence is secretly opened. When I challenge them, they deny, of course—but we all know. Ordinarily, everything is passed on to me after being secretly examined.

Should you at any time wish to write for any Indian journals published in English—you have only to tell me and I shall gladly arrange for it.

I want to send this letter off by airmail so as to make some amends for the delay in replying to it. In a separate cover I am sending a press-cutting from a Lahore paper after my arrival there

and two snaps taken when I reached Dalhousie on the 12th May. I wonder if you will recognise me in Bengali dress. Moreover I have grown somewhat thinner.

Before I close, I want to tell you how much I have valued the warm and cordial sentiments you have expressed for my humble self in all your recent letters. I cannot sufficiently thank you for the same. Please accept my most grateful thanks and convey them to Dr V.

How do you spend your time now? Would you like me to send you any other Indian weekly paper or journal?

Ever yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Santosh Kumar Sen*

Dalhousie, Punjab
31.5.37

My dear Dr Sen,

I received your letter of the 18th April three or four days ago. I arrived here on the 12th and wish to be here for a few months. Let us see how my health behaves here. Initially after coming here I was feeling quite well, thereafter there was recurrence of throat-trouble and I felt run down. Even before my release, the Dharmavirs were inviting me very insistently to come here; and then on my sudden release they wrote to me even more strongly. Considering all aspects of the matter, I accepted their invitation. They are taking very good care of me here. I have been very close to them over a long period of time—and I look upon Mrs Dharmavir as my sister.

From the point of view of my health, a trip to Europe would have been desirable. But for various reasons that is not possible.

* Translated from the original Bengali

Firstly, going abroad is expensive; then having been away from home for a long time, now being a free man I do not wish to go away from my country of my own free will. It is easier while in the country to maintain contact with everybody. I was greatly benefited by the two courses of 'bath' treatment at Badgastein—so it is my belief that my health would have improved very fast if I could take 'bath' treatment there even just for a month. I used to think previously that bath treatment was a mere advertisement gimmick. But I have tested the baths at Badgastein and found that you really benefit from them. And as a result of bathing in 'radioactive' water there, you feel better, as if you are on a tonic. Any way, there is no point thinking about it now.

I do not expect the Society in Vienna to make much progress. Gairola will keep the Society under his own thumb. Where good people cannot have any permanent place, can you expect anything new there?

I was extremely happy to learn about the excellence of your thesis. You may send it to a number of well-known physicians in India (with some copies to journals), particularly in areas where you are expected to practise.

I have received the letter to the *Manchester Guardian.* I shall be glad if you will please send me such writings or clippings from time to time.

How are things otherwise in Vienna? I hear from time to time from Miss Schenkl. The 'master' cannot be traced, he is most probably in Berlin. Gairola writes off and on and Mrs Mueller has recently been to India. She saw me by special permission at the hospital in Calcutta. Mrs Vetter has written to me last week that great anxiety now prevails among the Jews. Some amongst our Jewish friends in Vienna are trying to emigrate to America. Well, what about Miss Weiss? She particularly asked my opinion about her plan to go to Palestine. Thereafter what cataclysmic events took place there! I have the feeling that both at present and in the near future the condition of the Jews in central Europe will not be good at all.

Now that you are in England, please do not come back without obtaining a good degree. I am personally always against degree

hunting. But nevertheless, I think, when you do plan to settle in Delhi and are now in England, you should not return without taking a good degree from Edinburgh or London. If you have to engage yourself in general practice, at least during the first phase one needs a good degree. This is of course talking in terms of the marketplace, but the world is full of shopkeepers! Anyway, I hope that in the future opportunities for specialists will gradually open up.

Is Adhu Babu of Delhi (Rashbehari Sen) any relation of yours?

Mrs Dharmavir was telling us yesterday that a proposal had come for you to practise for 3 to 4 months in place of an Indian doctor at some place in England. The proposal is not bad, but practising over there is of no particular value for work in India. You, of course stand to gain from the financial point of view. But in case you are not in want of money just at present, it is better to spend the time there in acquiring knowledge. It is true enough that you will get some money by practising there, but will you gain any worthwhile experience? Anyway, you will know better because you have gone around and seen things for yourself in Vienna, London, Edinburgh and many such places. And you know by personal experience where one can get a good education.

One word more, and this I am saying with a certain amount of hesitation. Mrs Dharmavir knows about your friendship with Sita, the doctor probably does not know. If you consider it proper on my part to mention anything to them in this regard, please feel free to tell me so. Of course, that depends upon your future plans.

I hope all is well with you there.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

✉

To Kitty Kurti

c/o Dr N.R. Dharmavir
Dalhousie
Punjab
3.6.37

Dear Mrs Kurti,

I am sorry I have not written to you so long and have not replied to the letter you wrote many months ago. You have heard, by now of my release in March. As my health is not satisfactory, I have come here for a long rest and change of climate. I shall stay here for some months. This is a hill-station in the northwest of India about 2000 metres high.

Please write to me all about yourself and Mr Kurti. What are your plans for the future? When do you go to Prague? Have you any plans there? Did you go to Zurich to meet Jung?

Are you quite sure that Annette is R.R.'s present wife?

Please write to me about your impressions of Freud's family. I am now expecting a long, long letter from you. I have not much to write myself.

Many thanks for the poems—which I am trying to understand with a dictionary.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Ram Manohar Lohia

c/o Dr N.R. Dharmavir
Dalhousie
Punjab 27.6.37

My dear Dr Lohia,

I have been thinking of writing to you for some time past, par-

ticularly on one matter—namely the detenus from French India who have been detained in British India by the British Government. The papers said that you had been in correspondence with the authorities in French India and also with the French League of Human Rights. I am anxious to know what response, if any, you have received so far.

On going through my old file, I find that in one of your letters you asked me for a dozen photographs of myself. I have no decent photos with me. There is one which is passable, but not good enough for foreign use. However, I am sending it under separate cover. If you think it will do, I shall have more copies made and forwarded to you.

I feel that it is necessary to start an intensive campaign on an All-India scale for demanding the release of all political prisoners. The time seems to be opportune. What do you think about it?

Hope this will find you all well. I am somewhat better than before, though my progress is slow.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

Dr R.M. Lohia
Allahabad

To Sudhir Kumar Basu

c/o Dr N.R. Dharmavir
Dalhousie
Punjab
29.6.37

My dear Sudhir Babu,

I was very happy to receive your telegram soon after my release. I am very sorry for the delay in replying to it.

How are you now? Are you in the same house? And is Arjun

still with you—preparing tea, making 'luchis' and cooking fowl curry?

And your boy, how is he? I suppose he is too old to play Hide and Seek now.

Please remember me to all friends there. Are you still looking after Milanee Club? What about Vivekananda Society and the Mahila Samity? Perhaps I have got into a confusion over Milanee. Is not Milanee the name of the Cinema?

I am somewhat better since coming here—though I am not progressing as fast as I want to.

I met Santosh Babu in Calcutta.

Hope you are well.

Yours affly

Subhas C. Bose

To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik*

c/o Dr N.R. Dharmavir
Dalhousie
Punjab
2.7.37

My dear Sunil,

Did I reply to your letter of 19th March? I do not remember well. Anyway, I send you my sincere love. Please also convey to the villagers my love and greetings. Please excuse me for this long delay in replying to your letter.

How are you all? I guess nowadays you cannot often come down to the Calcutta area. Anyway, please keep up the habit of reading all the time or otherwise the mental horizon will shrink and the vision will get narrow.

* Translated from the original Bengali

I have improved in health somewhat since my arrival here. I wish you all the best always.

With best wishes always.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To Sita Dharmavir

Dalhousie
7.7.37

My dear Sita,

I am sorry I have not written to you so long. Believe me, it is sheer laziness.

Thanks for the mangoes. We are doing full justice to them. Dr, however, prefers to go in for rotten ones, he waits till they begin to rot. I wonder sometimes if mangoes which have begun to rot have a therapeutic value. Dr says that we should not waste things as argument of doubtful validity. And he says that while rotten meat or fish may cause serious trouble; rotten fruit can at its worst, diarrhoea that's the . . .

There is then another trouble at the table. Dr insists that we should all take 'kharbuja' . . . Didi has to submit, what can she do? But Miraben and I hold out. We hold that 'kharbuja' is heavy for the stomach. Sometimes, when it is thrust on my plate I eat it under protest. For Dr 'kharbuja' is the last word on the subject of fruit. He has it morning, noon and night. (I suggested he might have it at tea time also, but he hates eating anything at tea time.)

We do not see much of the Sakhale tribe. I saw them yesterday for the first time. Didi has asked Dr Mandle to tea this afternoon. She, Dr Mandle, is going down tomorrow I think (or very soon). Panjpula Road as a road is quite clean now. But I agree with you that Thandright Road is the best for walking in the evening. We

are mostly there at sunset. I call it 'the Lover's Walk'. Many English couples frequent this road.

What you wrote about the babies interested me greatly. I also think that Indians bring too many babies into the world and all for what? To die because few of them grow up as adults. That brings us to the question of controlling population, which is absolutely essential for India. Mahatma Gandhi says self-control is very good indeed, if people will oblige him by being so reasonable. But failing that, Dr Mundle hopes he may also be a useful prophet of India.

I will stop here today as some visitors have come in. Hope you are well. I am getting on satisfactorily, all family well here and the weather too. With love.

Yours affectionately

Subhas

To Kitty Kurti

Dalhousie
Punjab
India
10.7.37

Dear Mrs Kurti,

I was so glad to receive your kind letter of the 20th June and I am sorry for being so late in replying to it. After my release I came here for recouping my health. This is a hill-station in the northwest of India, about 2,000 metres high and quiet. From here you can see the snowcapped mountains of the northern Himalayas. My health is much better now, but still not quite all right. I shall therefore stay here for two months more and then return to the plains to begin my work. It will not be possible to leave India now, because there is so much work to be done here.

You said in your last letter that you had been expecting a baby. I hope you are now quite satisfied with the interesting and happy event and that both the child and yourself are doing well.

What you have written about the psychoanalysts was very interesting. It is true that the atmosphere in Europe is full of selfishness. People have no peace of soul and many of them suffer from neurasthenia. The only cure for this is a spiritual and moral life. But the essence of a spiritual and moral life is to be unselfish. And you cannot easily find unselfishness in Europe. When do you go to America? I hope you will continue correspondence even when you are there.

Here in India, our work progresses slowly. We have a very difficult task in front of us, but we are hopeful and optimistic. The position of our party is much stronger than it was a year ago. The party has more influence and prestige now. But of course we realize that England will not easily give us what we want.

With kindest regards to Mr Kurti and yourself.

I am

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Sita Dharmavir

Dalhousie
31.7.37

My dear Sita,

I was glad to have your letter of the 20th inst. Since then, there have been interesting developments at both ends. For sometime past I had been talking to Dr about the future education of Leila

and yourself urging the viewpoint that you should go abroad without losing time here etc. In theory he was agreeable and said always that when you both finished your work in India you could go abroad. After the news of your Calcutta appointment came, the matter was discussed denovo. Dr then expressed the view that instead of going to Calcutta, you could as well go to England and Leila too. Then I said that—that would mean that both of you would have to sail in September. Dr said that he had no objection to that. It was then decided that Dr should write to you at once. Dr has gone down to Lahore today and will discuss the question with Leila today or tomorrow.

The position is this: that you can go to England now (in September) instead of going to Calcutta, in which case Leila will accompany you if she is also agreeable. It is now for you to decide what you should do. If I were you, I should jump at the offer and go abroad.

Dr will be back again on Monday morning. Didi is in favour of your going abroad, without losing time as far as I can understand her mind.

Why not send Dr a wire about your decision when you receive our letter, which I believe will be on Monday morning?

I am not unfriendly to potatoes and have them occasionally—despite doctor's dislike. Sometimes, I have furious quarrels with him because in his opinion I take too much soup which is bad. For the last few days 'kharbuja' has become scarce, thank God.

We have had good weather on the whole despite June and July. Let us see how August will behave. I feel restless at times because of my enforced inactivity.

A student's conference is meeting in Lucknow today and I have just sent off a telegram of good wishes.

Yes, we have wonderful sunsets occasionally but sometimes it is too cloudy. I have been thinking when colour photography will be properly developed.

I have been hearing from Santosh occasionally. With love.

Yours affly

Subhas

To Santosh Kumar Basu

Dalhousie
(Punjab)
5.8.37

My dear Santosh Babu,

Could you kindly take up this matter and see what you could do? With all your municipal experience, you could know how to proceed in the matter. It is difficult for me to advise from here. Please get in touch with the writer of this letter and put your heads together.

I am somewhat better now. Hope you are all well.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

Commercial Gazette
(Estd. 1920)
A Weekly Journal of Commerce, Industry and Finance

2 Royal Exchange Place
Calcutta
7 July 1937

Dear Mr Bose,

I have pleasure in sending you a copy of the current issue of *Commercial Gazette* along with a copy of the reprint article entitled 'Toll of High-Tension Alternating Current' for your kind perusal.

You are no doubt aware that after a continuous agitation for about three years the Government appointed an Inquiry Committee to enquire into the rate charges of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, Ltd., and in that agitation the contribution of *Commercial Gazette* is not of a very mean order. You will be glad to learn that during the time when the Committee was receiving public evidence numerous bodies representing the public interest sub-

mitted their evidence before the Committee, some written and some verbal. On the side of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, Ltd., Mr W.W.K. Page, Bar-at-Law, watched the proceedings and pleaded on their behalf. The President of the Committee was Sir Nalini Ranjan Chatterjee, Ex-Judge of the High Court.

Towards the close of the Committee's sittings your revered brother, Mr Sarat Chandra Bose, very kindly acceded to my personal request and, leaving his own urgent engagements in the High-Court, represented on behalf of the public their case, meeting the arguments of Mr Page with the most crushing reply; and had he not represented the case on behalf of the public, the decision so far it has been favourable for the consumers would have been quite otherwise. Although he was not acquainted with the technicalities of electricity, he most willingly submitted himself to the coaching for about 14 hours before he appeared in the Committee ready with his case.

This is by the way. And, what I suggest to you is that if you think the case for the consumers just and reasonable, and I am sure you do think so, as you are fully acquainted with the affairs of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, Ltd., when you held the office of the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, would you kindly advise the B.P.C.C. authorities to move the matter in the Assembly that will sit from the 29th July next?

This letter indeed may be thought as boring to you on account of your ill health but I trust you are never tired of taking interest in a matter when it concerns the public welfare. Would you kindly do what is necessary under the circumstances? I send you a copy of my Evidence which I submitted before the Committee and request your careful perusal of same, specially pp. 9, 10 and 18.

Hoping to be kindly excused for this long letter, and praying to God for your complete recovery.

Yours sincerely

K. Ghosh

To Subhas Ch. Bose, Esq.
c/o Dr Dharmavir
Dalhousie (Punjab)

To Ram Manohar Lohia

Dalhousie
5.8.37

My dear Dr Lohia,

I am sorry for the delay in replying to your letter of the 5th July No. F.D.9/264.

I am very glad that you took up the question of the French-Indian state prisoners. The last information goes to show that Kalicharan Ghosh has obtained partial liberty. I am not quite sure if he is wholly free.

I wish there could be an all-India drive for the release of political prisoners. You say that you had a talk with President Nehru. I also wrote to him some time ago about it. I wish he could give us a lead.

I am sending under separate cover some photographs as desired by you.

Hope you are all well. I am somewhat better now.

With kindest regards.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

Dr R.M. Lohia

To Anil Chandra Ganguly*

Dalhousie
(Punjab)
8.8.37

My dear Anil,

I have been wanting to write to you, ever since I got your affectionate letter. But sheer laziness has stood in the way. Not that I

* Translated from the original Bengali

have been inactive all these days; when one's health is below par, he somehow drags on, attending only to the pressing items of business, and of the latter there have been quite a lot of late to keep me occupied and even worried.

I am painfully surprised to know of your physical troubles. You were so healthy when young, and so bright and cheerful. I expected so much from you! But you have not yet made good. There is still time, however.

I believe in God. I also believe in prayer, though I do not do much of it myself. The mental (or you might say, spiritual) exercise I have been doing is of two kinds, *depending on my mood at the time.* One of these is practice of self-assertion. I sit down peacefully and think hard that I have overcome the human frailties, viz., lust, anger, temptation and fear. This practice gives me a lot of strength, and through it I have overcome many weaknesses. The other practice is self-surrender. I sit down and think of a mighty stream of Divine Energy, something like Bergson's 'elan vital'—and try to merge my existence in it. I try to feel that as a result of this merging (or self-surrender), the Divine Energy flows through me and that I am but an instrument in the hands of the Divine. I never consciously pray for anything material. It is mean and sordid. On the contrary, I try to repeat to my mind—'Thy Will Be Done', in a spirit of self-surrender.

Life is an eternal conflict, there is no inner peace till you overcome all the passions. But gradually one gets pleasure in fighting and when some desire (or passion) is overcome, there is a great satisfaction and sense of self-confidence.

My interest in philosophy is there—but I have little time for it. To some extent I have kept up my contact with Psychology. I do a lot of political study—I mean study of political philosophy and international politics. Besides this, I try to be 'sabjanta' to a certain extent, because a public man must have a general grasp of all problems. This is a handicap in some ways and prevents specialisation. But it cannot be helped, because life is short and one's energy limited. The greatest joy I have experienced so far is in living a life of uncertainty and adventure—and a life devoted to a cause. It compensates you for all your suffering and sorrow, and it makes

life romantic. The greatest pain I have received is from the behaviour of human beings, sometimes your own friends, from whom you expected better and nobler things.

Glad to have your books. I am sorry I have not been able to read them, but only glanced at them. My best wishes are always with you. Are you practising in the High Court now? Have you married?

Do write to me from time to time. I often think of you and your brothers. I only feel sorry you have not done more for your country. But there is still time and the struggle is not yet over. My experience is always at your disposal for what it is worth. I have nothing to hide. My pronams to your parents.

With much love.

Very affly yours

Subhas

PS There is one thing I forgot to tell you. I have also received much benefit from one kind of mental exercise: self-analysis. Whenever I have time, I sit down calmly and try to look into my mind and find out what weakness, if any, is there. In this way, I have detected many unworthy elements and nipped them in the bud. Detection always means half the victory. When I have detected something wrong or unworthy, self-assertion becomes easier and you can crush the human frailties more easily. Most of the mental trouble we have is due to the fact that we do not know our own minds. The mind is such a subtle thing that it often deceives itself. Therefore, continual self-analysis is necessary as a daily mental exercise. The study of abnormal psychology—and of psychopathology—has helped me analyse myself.

S.C. Bose

✉

To Khitish Prasad Chattopadhyay

Dalhousie
(Punjab)
9.8.37

My dear Khitish,

Your letter of 20th June was duly to hand. I read it with great pleasure. I am so glad that you have found peace and satisfaction in your present work. After all, we all work in different ways and in different spheres to get some kind of satisfaction. And if one has got it—nothing more need be said.

I am sorry that Dilip did not come. I was looking forward to some intimate talks in the quiet solitude of the mountains. But he had enough of solitude and quiet for 8 long years and naturally Calcutta had a strong pull. If he finds his satisfaction in Calcutta, I have nothing to say. I only hope and pray that he may soon be back from Pondicherry. I could never like the idea of his being immersed there.

But I must go on. The path is long and dreary. At times I feel weary. Darkness overtakes me relieved by occasional flashes of lightning. But what of that? There is pleasure in travelling. I am still a homeless wanderer. Peace, Peace! I have not found peace yet, nor satisfaction. It is not the lightning alone which lures me, but the darkness as well. It is not the bright future alone which calls, but the gloomy uncertainty as well. If I should fall before I reach the light—what of that? There is pleasure in travelling—in groping—also in falling! Yours affly

Subhas

To an Employee of the Calcutta Corporation

9 August 1937

You have asked for my assistance. I would gladly offer it, if I could. But I am painfully conscious of my helplessness. You have an

exaggerated notion of my influence. If I have any influence with the public—it certainly does not exist within the Corporation walls. Otherwise many things would not have happened which have actually happened during the last few years. Congressmen did not enter the Corporation in 1924 under Deshabandhu's leadership in order to increase the pay and emoluments of the higher officers and leave the poorer employees in their existing grades. Nepotism has been so rampant during the last few years that it makes me hang my head down in shame at the doings of a body in which congressmen have, or should have, a great deal of influence. The extraordinary treatment meted out to the Chief Executive Officer when he applied for leave some months ago is an illustration in point. The arguments that are usually trotted out for resisting the claims of the poorer employees to an increase in their pay and emoluments would do credit to the most deep-dyed bureaucrat. My sense of fairness as a human being and my conscience as a congressman revolts at it—but for the time being I am helpless.

Ever since my release I have been worried over the internal working of the Corporation. If even a small percentage of the rumours and reports that have reached my ears be true, it would be enough to give the public a rude shock. I am glad to see that under the present Mayor a corner of the evil has been lifted which has shrouded the affairs of the Corporation departments. But I am sure that what has seen the light of day is nothing compared to what still remains enveloped in darkness.

As a congressman, I have a certain responsibility for what is happening within the Corporation, I am fully alive to it. This sense of responsibility extends beyond the manifest injustice done to the poorer employees and covers many other spheres as well. The problem will have to be tackled in the near future. I cannot tell you today how I shall act when I am back to my work. I can only tell you this that if I have anything to do with Bengal Politics—the Aegean Stables of the Calcutta Corporation will have to be swept clean, or, in the alternative, the Congress Party will have to wash its hands of any responsibility for what the Calcutta Corporation does.

In my view, what is happening in the Calcutta Corporation is

an index of what is going on in the larger sphere of public life in Bengal. A moral inertia has got hold of our men. There is a lack of dynamic idealism. All the idealism we had seems to be locked up in prisons and detention-camps, and those who are outside seem to be marking time or definitely backsliding. Hence you find on all sides petty squabbles and fights over shadowy issues to the neglect of the real and fundamental problems. From this, the province can be saved only by a moral resurgence, by a flood of idealism which will sweep aside everything that is mean, sordid and reactionary and will bring back to our hearts, as well as to our public life, the sorely needed virtues of faith, uprightness and unselfish devotion. I feel that after a spell of cynicism and reaction we are on the eve of a great moral awakening.

To Santosh Kumar Basu

Dalhousie
Punjab
17.8.37

My dear Santosh Babu,

The invitation to Anil's marriage ceremony is just to hand. I hope the ceremony passed off smoothly. And I hope further that you did not waste money in feeding people who need not be fed—but I am afraid that hope is a forlorn one. Nothing less than a dictator is needed to put our social customs right. However, let me stop this homily to convey my best wishes to the newly wedded couple. The bride must have missed her mother-in-law when she entered your house—but it is doubtful if the mother-in-law is a popular institution and she should console herself with that thought.

Since my release I have felt worried over the affairs of the Calcutta Corporation. Can you let me have your opinion as to what should be done to cleanse the Aegean Stables?

My health is better than before—but I shall have to prolong my stay for some time longer.

Hope you are all well. With kindest regards.

Yours affly

Subhas C. Bose

To Sita Dharmavir

Dalhousie
26.8.37

My dear Sita,

If you have to leave for Calcutta in a hurry, please send a telegram to my brother Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose. His telegraphic address is: ESCIBOS, Calcutta. Just intimate the time of your arrival at Howrah station. Howrah station is on the other side of the river and in order to reach Calcutta, you have to cross the floating bridge. I expect nephew Asoke, whom you probably met at Prague, will meet you at the station, but should you miss him by any chance, please take a taxi and drive to 1 Woodburn Park. It is to the south of the city, near the French Motor Car Company's premises, a landmark which all taxi drivers know. Woodburn Park will be about 4 miles from the Howrah station and in order to reach it, you will have to pass through the 'maidan' and the European part of the city.

Once in a while it happens that the bridge is open in order to allow ships to pass through. Should this happen just when you arrive and the station coolies tell you that there will be some delay, you may walk down to the river which is a stone's throw from the platform. The railways provide a free steamer ferry which you may board and cross over to the Calcutta side of the river, where you will find taxis waiting. There are also any number of country boats plying for hire, but it is safer to go by the steamer ferry. However, I hope you will not have this experience during your first visit.

My sister-in-law has had a major operation a few days ago (gall bladder and appendix) and I [imagine] the household is somewhat upside down. But I hope you will make yourself comfortable.

I hope you will like Calcutta when you are once there and also pick up some Bengali. Hope you are well. With love.

Yours affly

Subhas

PS Leila is here, as you know, we had a long walk one day. I am fairly well, though not quite well as yet. I shall probably be before the end of September, though people want me back in Bengal at once.

S.C.B.

To Srish Chandra Chatterjee

28 August 1937

I am sorry for the delay in replying to your letters, which is due largely to the fact that I felt helpless about furthering the objects you have in view. You know very well my own attitude towards the revival of Indian architecture and how I regard it as an important aspect of our national regeneration. Art and architecture represent the finest embodiment of a nation's soul. And as the soul of a people awakens, it naturally finds expression in the distinctive art and architecture of that nation. Having this deep conviction within me,

I have followed your activities with the greatest interest. I have great admiration for the unbounded zeal and enthusiasm, which you have evinced for the cause you have taken to heart and I earnestly pray that however formidable may be the obstacles, which beset your path, you may never have occasion to lose one particle of the innate optimism which has been the secret of your success.

Coming to the subject matter of your letter I may say that it is quite possible for the Calcutta Corporation to further the cause of Indian architecture. I may go further and say that if I had any control over that body, I would certainly have put some of your ideas into practice. But whether you believe me or not, the fact remains that I am not in a position to influence that body. It may appear to you anomalous that with a Congress party inside the Corporation I am unable to influence the latter body. But the anomaly is a fact all the same.

I do not know if it would be possible to have an avenue exclusively for Indian architecture, owing to legal difficulties, for the Corporation cannot force anybody to go in for a particular type of architecture. Nevertheless, the Corporation can indirectly encourage Indian architecture. It is possible to have a department of Indian architecture for giving free advice to the citizens as to the type of architecture they should adopt. This Department may stock designs, handbooks, etc., for the use of the citizens and it may also carry on propaganda in various ways to popularise Indian architecture. Advantage may also be taken of Exhibitions for popularising Indian architecture among the people of Calcutta. And if Calcutta sets an example, other Indian cities are sure to follow.

But the point is, who will listen to me? People are far too busy with petty infighting and insignificant squabbles to think of larger problems. Consequently I am not at all hopeful of getting anything done. You may say that in that event there is no use in having a Congress party in the Corporation. Perhaps you are right and that is a point which has been exercising my mind ever since my release. What I shall do when I am back to my normal work, I cannot say. But the problem will have to be tackled sooner or later. Till then I can only send you my good wishes and hope that you will never lose your optimism.

To Sita Dharmavir

Dalhousie
31.8.37

My dear Sita,

I am glad to know from your telegram that you have reached Calcutta safely.

You will find things . . . there because my sister-in-law is in a nursing home now and my brother is terribly busy nowadays. However, I hope you will try to make yourself at home as much as possible. Please tell my nephew, Asoke, what exactly you like in the way of food because they are not vegetarians and may not understand your requirements unless you tell them. Please have no hesitation on that point. Calcutta is a place where you can have every kind of vegetable and fruit if you want it.

Hope you will like Calcutta. In haste.

Yours affly

Subhas

To V. Lesny

Dalhousie
Punjab
India
6.9.37

My dear Professor,

I was very glad to get your letter from Straz P. Ralskeen when Mr and Mrs Mehta were on a visit to you. I hope you have enjoyed your rest there during summer. I am sure you are now back in Praha. Please let us know when you are coming to India again. I would like very much to come to Europe, but I am sorry that that

is not possible. So you have to come to India. My heartiest congratulations on the book you have written about Tagore! I am sure your book will help to popularise the poet and India over there in Central Europe. Please convey my warmest regards to Mrs Lesny and accept same yourself. Hope you are all well. I am fairly well.

Yours very sincerely
Subhas C. Bose

Prof. Dr Lesny
Praha

To E. Woods

Dalhousie
Punjab
India
9.9.37

Dear Mrs Woods,

Many, many thanks for your kind letter of the 2nd June and all the papers you have sent me. I also received a copy of the new constitution.

Soon after my release I came here for a change. It is a hill-station in the northwest of India about 7,000 feet high. I shall still be here for another 2 months. My health is better than before, but not all right yet.

The papers you sent me while I was a prisoner were duly passed by the Police and handed over to me.

The cable you sent to India after my arrest last year was duly published in all the papers with a great deal of prominence. It was very kind of you to do so.

I shall probably be elected the President of the Indian National Congress early next year. The elections (by the party branches) take place early in January, 1938.

Kindly remember me to Dr and Mrs Dey, Enda and other members of the family. I often think about you all and the very kind and cordial welcome I had there.

Please convey my regards to Madame also.

How is your health now?

Please write to me something about the different groups there (outside the Fianna Fail). I expected that F.F. would have a bigger majority at the last election. Why did they fail?

In India things are moving. The Congress is in power in 7 out of 11 provinces. But this will not carry us very far, because the Central (Federal) Government is as reactionary as ever. We have a stiff fight ahead of us, but the Congress is much stronger today than it was one year ago. We are hopeful and optimistic.

Kindly remember me to friends whom I met there, in addition to members of the family. What is my guardian angel doing nowadays?

With best regards

Ever yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To Jawaharlal Nehru

Giddapahar
Kurseong
17.10.37

My dear Jawahar:

Your letters G 83/4101 and G 60 (iii)/4126 dated the 8th and 9th inst. were duly to hand.

Re. 'Bande Mataram', we shall have a talk in Calcutta and also discuss the question in the Working Committee if you bring it up there. I have written to Dr Tagore to discuss the matter with you when you visit Santi Niketan. Please do not forget to have a talk with him when you visit Santi Niketan.

I have always agreed with you that on the question of Hindu-Muslim unity economic questions are of paramount importance. Communal Muslims are in the habit of raising bogeys from time to time—sometimes it is music before mosques, sometimes inadequate jobs for Muslims and at present it is 'Bande Mataram'. 'Bande Mataram' has suddenly sprung into importance probably because it was sung in Legislatures thereby demonstrating Congress victory. While I would gladly try to meet all doubts and difficulties raised by nationalist Muslims, I do not feel inclined to attach much importance to what the communalists say. If you give them the fullest satisfaction on the question of 'Bande Mataram' today, they will not be long in bringing up other questions tomorrow, simply in order to pander to communal feeling and embarrass the Congress.

What you have written about Tipperah has not surprised me. You may remember that some time ago I wrote to you at length on the group alignments in Tipperah District, pointing out how difficult it was to solve the problem purely from the constitutional point of view. There are three districts in Bengal where the dispute is deep-seated—Tipperah, Sylhet and Faridpur. I am afraid no permanent settlement will be possible until I visit these districts and make a mass appeal. I shall appeal to both parties (in Faridpur, there are several parties, however) to join hands and acquiesce in an agreed list of office-bearers, executive committee members etc. Failing this, I shall have to ask one party to withdraw from the field—as I did in Sylhet in 1931. We shall discuss all these questions in Calcutta.

Re. disciplinary action, I should like you to give a clear direction when you are in Calcutta. If you want a lenient policy all around—we can do so. It is necessary for you and the W.C. to make it clear to us whether you like a lenient or severe policy towards breakers of discipline in future. Further, do you want us to reverse the penalty already imposed?

Yours affectionately

Subhas

To Sunil Mohan Ghosh Moulik*

Giddapahar
Kurseong
19.10.37

My dear Sunil,

I was happy to receive your two letters. Please do not mind the delay in replying to you. Please accept my sincere Bijoya love and good wishes.

Mejdada and family are here now. I (and Mejdada) will go down to Calcutta for a week for A.I.C.C. My health is appreciably better now.

I was sorry to hear about your wife's illness. I hope she will get well soon.

There has been no decision yet about the money left by the late Mr Palit.

I hope you are well.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Subhas Chandra Bose

To A.C. Banerjee

6 November 1937

My dear Mr Banerjee,

Many thanks for your long letter of the 19th instant which I have carefully perused. I agree with what you have said.

With respectful Bijoya greetings.

I am

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

* Translated from the original Bengali

To Sita Dharmavir

38/2 Elgin Road
Calcutta
17.11.37

My dear Sita,

I am leaving tomorrow morning for Europe by aeroplane for one month's stay there. I should like to see you once sometime towards the evening. Why not at 1 Woodburn Park? I shall be there if you come. Send a line in reply or a telephone to Asoke (if you cannot get me on the phone).

Yours affly

Subhas C. Bose

To Mrs J. Dharmavir

In the air
18.11.37

My dear Didi,

I do not remember if I wrote to you in my last letter about my going to Europe. I might have forgotten. However, by now you must have got the news from the papers. Sita got the news only yesterday morning from me. Last night she dined with us. She gave me your letter and cuttings which I am carrying with me. I shall attend to it when I reach my destination—Badgastein, which I shall do on the 22nd inst. My address will be c/o Poste Restante, Badgastein, Austria. You can see from my handwriting how smoothly the plane is running. We are now halfway between Allahabad and Jodhpur, where we shall spend the night. The next night we shall spend at Bagdad. I am feeling quietness now after 25 days continuous and abnormal strain. How are you all? And

Narang and Sandy? Raghu came to me for a letter of introduction. I tackled him about the sari and shawl and he denied it. In my absence (when I was at Kurseong) he was cheeky to my mother and he was asked to go. Sita is getting on fine and she will soon become a Calcuttan cocksure. If and when Professor Demel of Vienna goes to Lahore, please invite him to tea and introduce him to doctor friends there. Kindest remembrances to Dr, Leila and yourself.

Yours

Subhas

To
Mrs J. Dharmavir
Pediham Grove
Lahore

To Orientourist Ltd.

State Hotel
(Jodhpur Rajputana)
Between Jodhpur and Karachi
19.11.1937

To
The Manager
Orientourist Ltd.
Calcutta

Dear Sir,

Before I cross the borders of India I must thank you for the excellent arrangements you made in connection with my air-journey from Calcutta to Naples. I was also well looked after at the aerodrome. This saved me a lot of trouble and bother. I am glad that after all there is an Indian company in the field to do this sort of work. I

wish you all success in your enterprise and hope that the public will extend their full patronage to you.

Yours truly

Subhas C. Bose

To Naomi C. Vetter

Haus Erika
Badgastein
25.11.37

My dear Mrs Vetter,

You must have got the letter I wrote to you from Rome on my way to Badgastein from Naples (Napoli).

I reached here on the 22nd night and commenced my bath treatment the next day. I shall write another book during my stay here. My stay in Europe will be short this time, as I must return home by the first week of January at the latest. I desire to visit Vienna and meet all friends there before going home.

I hope this will find you and Dr Vetter quite well. With my warmest compliments and regards to both of you.

I am

Ever sincerely yours

Subhas C. Bose

PS It is possible that I may be elected President of the Indian National Congress next January. That is another reason why I must return home soon.

S.C.B.

To Maggiore Rapicavoli

Post Restante
Badgastein
(Austria)
25.11.1937

Dear Maggiore Rapicavoli,

You must have got the letter I wrote to you from Rome on my way to Badgastein from Napoli. In that letter I brought to your notice the fact that I was harassed by the Italian Police when I descended from the aeroplane at Napoli on the morning of the 21st November 1937. The baggage of no other passenger was even opened, but my boxes were all opened and everything turned upside down and carefully examined. Thereafter I was taken inside a room and my pockets were searched. Then followed searching questions as to my destination and the route I was going to follow. You can easily imagine how angry I was and I complained to the agents of the K.L.M. Company in whose aeroplane I was travelling. They profusely apologized for the trouble and inconvenience I was given, and assured me that the trouble was given not by the ordinary customs officers but by the Italian Police.

When I reached Tarvisio, my passport, luggage, etc. were subjected to another minute examination. The boxes in particular were turned inside out and searching questions were put to me. Only when I passed the Italian frontier did I breathe freely once again.

The above experience is entirely new to me, for I have been treated differently whenever I have had occasion to visit Italy formerly. I am thinking of writing to the Indian Press relating the above experience, but before I do so I feel that I should give you an opportunity of dealing with this matter. I shall only add that I take a very serious view of this matter.

I shall be returning to India about a month later after completing my treatment here. I have naturally no desire of passing through Italy if I am to be insulted once again. I therefore intend embarking from some other airport in Europe unless the Italian authorities can assure me that the above experience will not be repeated.

I thought at first of writing to the head of the Government direct about this incident, but I felt that it was not necessary for me to trouble him over my affair.

Please oblige me with an early reply.

Yours sincerely
Subhas C. Bose
(from India)

To the Marquis of Zetland

Post Restante
Badgastein
(Austria)
25.11.37

Your Lordship,

I have come to Europe on a short visit for a course of treatment at Badgastein and shall be returning home by air in time to reach Calcutta by the middle of January at the very latest. As a matter of fact, I shall attempt an earlier return.

The treatment here will take about a month or five weeks and before I return home again, I should like to pay a flying visit to England to meet friends there and my nephew who is studying in London. Your Lordship is aware that there was a ban on my visit to London when I was in Europe between 1933 and 1936. There is no entry in my passport about this ban, but verbal instructions were given me not to visit England without a special permit and I honoured those instructions. I do not know if the ban still exists. If it does, I would request that the ban be now lifted and I be allowed to visit England.

If I am allowed to visit England, I intend spending about a week or ten days at the most there. It is possible that my stay there will be even shorter, in case my treatment here lasts longer—for in

no case can I prolong my stay in Europe beyond the 10th January when I must fly back to India.

I shall feel greatly obliged if your Lordship will be so good as to pass orders at an early date lifting the ban on my visit to England.

Thanking your Lordship heartily in anticipation.

I am etc.

Subhas Chandra Bose

Rt. Hon. The Marquis of Zetland
Secretary of State for India
Whitehall
S.W. – 1

To Mrs J. Dharmavir

Badgastein
Austria
6.12.37

My dear Didi,

I was happy to receive your airmail letter of the 23rd Nov. on the 30th ultimo. On the 3rd inst., I sent by airmail to the *Tribune* a statement (appeal) for publication and requested the Editor to comment on it editorially. I am sending a copy herewith. I do hope the editor will publish it and also comment on it. In case he does not, you may send a reminder and the enclosed copy as well.

It was utterly impossible for me to think of myself in Calcutta when Gandhiji was there—especially after his own 'collapse' on the 1st of Nov. because we had invited him to tackle the case about 2000 imprisoned detenus and political prisoners. I must say in fairness to this old man that he pressed me to get away and—recoup my health. Without his insistence it would have been impossible for me to get away.

From where have you got news of Mr Zutshi, pray? I did not think you were in correspondence with him. If your informant is correct, I am surprised at Mr Zutshi's solicitude.

It is awfully nice here now, all white with snow and with it, sunshine. A dry cold, which is so bracing, I have been taking the baths and shall continue with treatment till the end of this month. I intend reaching Calcutta by air about the middle of January. Early in January, I may pay a short visit to London if I get the necessary permit in the meantime. But I am still undecided about it.

I am so very glad that you asked Professor Demel to tea. He is a nice man, is he not, besides being a good surgeon?

Sita gave me your letter in Calcutta before I left but in the rush, I misplaced it and did not bring it with me, as I had intended.

One thing about Sita. You will be glad to know that she has developed a spirit of self-confidence which it does one's heart good to see. She gives the impression of being an individual who can stand on her own legs and go about the world without fear or anxiety. (I don't know if I have been able to express myself properly.)

I gather from your letter Sita went to see Gandhiji probably with Miss Nair. If so, I am angry with her. She should have let me introduce her as that would have been most proper. I had broached the subject to her, but she seemed so indifferent about meeting Gandhiji that I did not want to press her to meet him.

People at home were well on the whole when I left Calcutta, both mother and my sister-in-law were better. Please tell Sita from me that if ever she has trouble with her servants, she should not hesitate to inform people at 1 Woodburn Park or 38/2 Elgin Road and she should not hesitate to invite herself to either place at any time. Everybody likes her and would be glad to be of any help to her.

Please remember me to (*illegible*), the servants and Sandy as well. Please convey my sincerest condolence to Somnath. Love to Dr, girls and yourself.

V

Subhas

To E. Woods

Kurhaus Erika
Badgastein
Austria
18.12.37

Dear Mrs Woods,

I have been thinking of writing to you ever since I arrived here for a change a few weeks ago. I shall be flying back to India in January. Before I do so, I shall be paying a short visit to London, arriving there on the 10th January. The British Government have, at long last, raised the ban of my entry into England—so I can come there.

Can you please make enquiries *confidentially* if I can pay a visit to President De Valera when I am in England? It will be a courtesy call. The approximate date will be between the 16th and 19th January. Please treat this matter as *strictly confidential* and let not a soul know beyond the President and his Secretary. When you write back, please address the cover to Miss E. Schenkl, Poste Restante, Badgastein and send it in *a sealed registered cover*. It is important and necessary to take this precaution, because I do not like that anybody else should know about this visit until I actually arrive in Dublin.

With cordial greetings to members of your family and sincerest regards to yourself.

I am

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

To E. Woods

Kurhaus Hochland
(or Poste Restante)
Badgastein
(Austria)
30.12.1937

Dear Mrs Woods,

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd inst. which reached me on the 26th.

I am sending you my programme from which you will know what arrangements you could possibly make for me. I reach London on the 10th January and shall stay there till the 17th. I want the appointment in Dublin on the 18th January positively. I shall have to rush to and back from Dublin. I shall leave London on the 17th night and reach Dublin on the 18th morning at about 6:45 a.m. I shall leave the same night at about 8:10 p.m. and reach London on the morning of the 19th January at about 5:30 p.m. After a couple of hours I shall fly to the continent and from there to India—also by air.

It will not be absolutely necessary to put up in a hotel—but perhaps I should, in case journalists want to come and see me. I think Shelbourne will be all right, if that is the best hotel. In case I go to a hotel, I should go to the best. I leave it to you to make such arrangements as you think best.

I shall leave this place on the 8th January in the morning.

The Indian papers have been pressing for a photograph of President Dev. and myself when I meet him. They were extremely disappointed when I was in Dublin last time. Do you think it will be possible for you to arrange it? You need not reply to me on this point—but please make the arrangement if the President has no objection. I have no objection to going to the country as long as I can return the same evening to Dublin and catch the boat at once.

Please keep the appointment a secret for the present. Just send

a line please to say that you have got this letter. Kindest regards and best wishes for the New Year.

Yours very sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

PS I am enclosing the cover of your letter. I wonder if your seals were in this condition when the letter left Dublin.

S.C.B.

To Maggiore Rapicavoli

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein
(Austria)
31.12.1937

Dear Maggiore Rapicavoli,

I am extremely thankful to you for your telegram followed by two letters. I could not write to you earlier as I was not sure of my programme. Even now I am not quite sure, nevertheless I am giving you my provisional programme.

In the first place, let me tell you that I regard the Naples incident as closed. I thank you heartily for the trouble you took on this behalf.

I shall take the Dutch K.L.M. aeroplane at Naples on the 12th January. I shall therefore be passing through Rome on the 11th or the 20th January. If I go back to India direct from here I shall take the plane on the 12th. If, however, I pay a visit to England before I return, I shall take the plane on the 21st. In view of the fact that I may be elected the President of the Indian National Congress in January the British Government have removed the ban on my entry into England. Indian friends in London have been pressing me to pay a short visit to London before I return home. Whether I shall be able to go there or not will depend on the instructions I receive

from India. At present I am in correspondence with India and hope to make my final decision in four or five days' time.

I should like very much to meet the head of the Government when I pass through Rome. The difficulty is that the matter must be kept an absolute secret. I have no doubt that trouble will await me in India on the side of the Government, if it leaks out that I have met him. Do you think it will be possible to have the interview *under conditions of absolute secrecy*? If so, please let me know as early as possible. I must also mention here that in case the news leaks out in spite of our best efforts, I shall have to deny it and on the other side you will have to do the same. When I was passing through Italy in November the news was published in the Italian papers along with the statement that I was going to meet the head of the Government. There was an enquiry from London and I had to say that I have not met any Italian official and this was of course the truth.

In the event of my returning by the earlier plane, I shall leave this place on the 9th or latest 10th for Rome. In the event of my taking the later plane I shall arrive at Rome by aeroplane from Prague on the 20th at about 4 p.m. in the afternoon and I must leave by a night train for Naples to take the plane early next morning. So, the interview will have to take place either on the 11th or on the 20th in the late afternoon—that is, about 5:30 or 6 p.m.

If I am going from here direct to Naples I shall of course take the train. But if I am travelling to Naples from England I shall go by aeroplane via Prague, Vienna, Venice and Rome. If the interview is not possible for any reason, please let me know and in that case I shall take the aeroplane at Amsterdam and fly straight to Naples via Marseilles.

If I have to visit England before returning home I shall leave this place positively on the 8th January, morning, for London.

With kind regards and best wishes for the New Year.

I am

Yours sincerely

Subhas C. Bose

Articles, Speeches and Statements

Message to Countrymen*

On the eve of my departure for Europe I desire to convey my cordial and affectionate thanks to my friends and well-wishers all over the country for the kind interest they have taken in me.

In spite of my prostrate condition the Government, for reasons best known to themselves, did not consider it advisable to release me or allow me freedom of any kind so long as I remained in any part of India. They also did not permit me to meet my aged and sick parents in spite of the most importunate requests.

Nevertheless I feel that what facilities have reluctantly been allowed by the Government have been the direct result of ceaseless agitation carried on by my friends and well-wishers all over the country and by the nationalist press in particular. To them my sincere gratitude is due.

The public are aware that though the responsibility for the present condition of my health falls entirely on the Government, they have refused to arrange for my treatment in Europe at Government expense, while they also refused to allow my friends and relatives to take charge of my treatment in India.

In view of the financial trouble through which my relatives have been passing for over a year, due primarily to the incarceration of my elder brother, Mr Sarat Chandra Bose, it would have been impossible for me to accept the offer of the Government. But some of my friends and well-wishers have voluntarily taken upon themselves the responsibility of finding funds necessary for my stay and treatment in Europe and have made it possible for me to go out to Europe in search of health.

* Text of statement issued by Subhas Chandra Bose exclusively to *Free Press* prior to his sailing for Europe on 25 February 1933.

It is yet too early for me to say whether I shall be able to recover my former health. But whatever the future may have in store for me, I heartily thank all those who have made it possible for me to leave for Europe.

Acutely sensitive though I am, I have not hesitated to accept the help offered by my friends and well-wishers, because I have always felt that my family is not confined to my blood relations but is coterminous with my country and when I have once and for all dedicated my humble life to the service of my country my countrymen have as much right to look after my welfare as my nearest relatives have.

I only hope and pray that God in his infinite mercy, may make me worthy, in the same measure of love and affection that has been showered on me by all sections of the Indian community.

In spite of all restrictions imposed on me till the moment of my sailing, I feel, I am carrying the kindest thoughts, best wishes and the most affectionate sympathy of my countrymen.

I desire, therefore, to assure them in return that their thoughts and prayers will be the most potent factor in helping my recovery, (if it is not too late already)—a factor much more efficacious than the best medicines which the best doctors in the world can prescribe.

The Anti-Imperialist Struggle and Samyavada*

We had been engaged in a non-violent war with the British Government—for the attainment of our political freedom. But today our condition is analogous to that of an army that has suddenly surrendered unconditionally to the enemy in the midst of a protracted and strenuous campaign.** And the surrender has taken place, not because the nation demanded it—not because the national army

* Presidential address at the Third Indian Political Conference, London, 10 June 1933, delivered in absentia.

** Bose is referring here to the sudden suspension of the Civil Disobedience Campaign by Mahatma Gandhi. – Ed.

rose in revolt against its leaders and refused to fight—not because the supply of the sinews of war was cut off—but either because the Commander-in-Chief was exhausted as a result of repeated fasting or because his mind and judgment were clouded owing to subjective causes which it is impossible for an outsider to understand.

What would have happened—I ask—if a similar incident had taken place in any other country? What happened to all the Governments that surrendered to the enemy at the end of the Great War? But India is a strange land.

The surrender of 1933 reminds one of the Bardoli Retreat of 1922. But in 1922, some explanation, however unsatisfactory, could be offered to justify the retreat. The outbreak of violence at Chauri Chaura was suggested as the pretext for suspending the Civil Disobedience campaign in 1922. What explanation or pretext can one suggest to account for the surrender of 1933?

There can be no doubt that the non-cooperation movement that was launched in 1920 and has been in existence in some form or other since that date—was the movement best suited to India in the fateful year 1920. There can be no doubt that in 1920 when political India was looking forward to a more militant plan of action—Mahatma Gandhi was the one man who could stand up as the undisputed spokesman of the people and lead them on from victory to victory. And there can also be no doubt that during the last decade India has completed the march of a century. But standing today at the crossroads of Indian History—it is meet and proper that we should try to discover the mistakes of the past—so that our future activity may be directed along the right lines and all possible pitfalls may be avoided.

For the attainment of freedom two paths are open to us. One is the path of uncompromising militancy. The other is the path of compromise. If we follow the first path, the fight for liberty will have to be pursued till we are able to wrest political power in its entirety there can be no question of a compromise along the road to freedom. If, on the other hand we follow the second path, periodical compromises may have to be made with our opponents for consolidating our position, before further attempts are made.

At the outset it should strike everybody that it is not at all clear

if our movement during the last thirteen years has been following the path of uncompromising militancy or that of compromise. This ideological ambiguity has been responsible for a lot of mischief. If our policy had been one of uncompromising militancy, the Bardoli surrender of 1922 would never have taken place—nor would the Delhi Pact of March, 1931, have been entered into. On the other hand, if we had been following the path of compromise, we should never have missed the opportunity of a bargain with the British Government in December 1931—when the situation was so opportune. In March, 1931, the situation was not opportune for a compromise from our point of view—nevertheless a truce was established between the Indian National Congress and the British Government. And considering our strength in March, 1931—the terms of the truce were altogether unsatisfactory. In short, as political fighters we have been neither sufficiently militant—nor sufficiently diplomatic.

In a fight between an unarmed subject people like the Indians and a first-class imperialist power like Great Britain—the supply of our necessary resources depends on our ability to keep up the enthusiasm of the people and maintain the spirit of opposition towards the Government. In the case of a war between two well-equipped and well-trained armies, the psychological factor is not so important as in our case. In 1922, when the whole nation had been roused to passionate activity and greater daring and sacrifice could be expected of the people the Commander-in-Chief suddenly hoisted the white flag. And this happened after he had thrown away, a couple of months earlier, a unique opportunity for what would have appeared in the existing circumstances as an honourable compromise with the Bureaucracy.

It is not easy to learn or to remember the lessons of past history and the latest developments in India go to show that we have not yet assimilated the lessons of 1921 and 1922. And unfortunately for us, with the death of Deshbandhu C.R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru of hallowed memory in 1925 and 1931 respectively—there disappeared from the Indian scene two political giants who might have saved India from the political mass in which she now finds herself.

In December 1927, when the Indian National Congress met at Madras, the unanimous acceptance of the resolution on Independence gave an indication of the rising temper of our people. And when early in 1928 the Simon Commission landed at Bombay, the demonstrations throughout India were reminiscent of the glorious days of 1921. From one point of view, the situation in 1928 was more favourable than in 1921—because while in 1921 the Indian Liberals were actively opposed to the Congress—in 1928 they were actively opposed to the British Government and in the campaign against the Simon Commission there was a united front of the Congress and the Liberal Party. The arrival of the Simon Commission should therefore have been the occasion for reviving the movement which had been suspended arbitrarily by Mahatma Gandhi in 1922. Nevertheless, for full two years, instead of marching ahead we began to retreat. In December, 1928, a resolution was passed at the Calcutta Congress by approximately 1,300 votes to 900, which put back the clock by definitely committing the Congress to the acceptance of Dominion Status. Thus at Calcutta we retreated not only from the position at Madras in December, 1927—but also from the position at Nagpur in December, 1920—because the Nagpur resolution on Swaraj, in view of its vague terminology, could be interpreted to mean that the goal of the Indian people was to be 'Independence' and not 'Dominion Status.'

The resolution of the Calcutta Congress gave the British Government one year's time within which they could offer Dominion Status to India. But the Government had no intention of making any such offer to India. The situation therefore became rather critical for the Congress leaders when the year 1929 began to draw to a close without Dominion Status being in sight. Another gesture was made by the Congress leaders in November, 1929, on the eve of the Lahore Congress, but to no avail. In a joint manifesto—now generally known as the Delhi Manifesto—the leaders agreed to participate in the Round Table Conference in London if some assurance would be given that Dominion Status would be granted to India.

I was one of those who had the temerity to oppose Mahatma Gandhi's resolution on Dominion Status at the Calcutta Congress

in 1928 and who had the presumption to condemn the Delhi Manifesto of November 1929. We had to point out that the Round Table Conference was a misnomer because it was not a Conference of plenipotentiaries representing the belligerent parties. A large number of nondescript Indians nominated by the alien Government would be present at the Conference to do the bidding of the wily British politicians. Moreover, if the Conference by any chance arrived at any conclusions favourable to India—they would not be binding on the British Government. We also pointed out that the primary object of the Government in convening this Conference was to bring the Indians to England and make them fight amongst themselves for the amusement of the British people. We therefore urged that as the Sinn Feiners had boycotted the Irish Convention, which was Mr Lloyd George's creation, so also the Indian National Congress should leave the Round Table Conference severely alone.

But ours was a cry in the wilderness. The leaders as a body were too anxious to find some honourable escape from the impending fight with the Government which was every day becoming unavoidable. But no such opportunity was given by the Government. Consequently when the Lahore Congress met in December, 1929, the temper of the people had risen and there was no alternative for the leaders but to swallow the resolution on Independence.

But 'Independence' which implied severance of the British connection—was like a pill bitter to the taste and difficult to digest. When the Congress unanimously adopted the resolution on Independence and thereby once for all ended the shilly-shallying of the last nine years—the moderate elements in the country were alarmed. Our leaders lost not time in trying to reassure them and beautiful phrases and attractive slogans were evolved for the purpose. We were told that Independence meant 'Purna Swaraj' (an expression which one could interpret according to his convenience). Mahatma Gandhi issued early in 1930 his famous 'eleven points' which according to him represented the substance of Independence and could form the basis of a compromise with the British Government. Thus the significance and the effect of the Lahore Congress resolution on Independence was nullified to a great extent through the action of the leaders themselves.

After the Lahore Congress it was impossible for the leaders not to do anything. The movement was therefore launched with the celebration of the Independence Day on the 26th January, 1930. By April the whole of India was in the throes of a revolution (may be a non-violent revolution). So great was the response of the people to the call to action that even Mahatma Gandhi was taken by surprise and he stated that the movement could have been started two years earlier.

The movement of 1930—like the earlier movement of 1921—took the Government by surprise and for a long time they were at a loss to decide as to the most effective means for crushing the movement. The international situation—economic and political—also helped India. It was therefore a mistake to suspend operations on the basis of what is known as the Delhi Pact (the Gandhi-Irwin Pact) of March, 1931. Even if the leaders wanted a compromise, they should have waited for a more opportune moment, and such a moment would certainly have arrived if the operations had continued for another six months or one year. But once again subjectivism prevailed—and objective factors and considerations were not taken into account when the Delhi Pact was entered into. I shall even go so far as to say that in the circumstances which prevailed in March, 1931—better terms could have been extracted from the Government if our leaders had possessed greater statesmanship and diplomacy.

As matters stood, the Delhi Pact was an advantage to the Government and a disaster to the people. The Government got time to study the tactics adopted by the Congress organisations in 1930 and 1931, so that they could perfect their machinery for striking a crushing blow whenever the Congress launched the movement once again. It is now a matter of common language that the ordinances promulgated by the Government in January, 1932, and the detailed tactics adopted by them throughout the year, were carefully worked out before the year 1931 came to a close. But what did the Congress do? In spite of the fact that there was seething discontent in the Frontier Province, in the United Provinces and Bengal, nothing was done by the leaders to prepare the country for the unavoidable resumption of the fight. In fact, I shall not be

wrong if I say that till the last everything was done to avoid a possible resumption of hostilities.

The Delhi Pact had on the whole a soporific effect on the popular enthusiasm and passion—nevertheless, the temper of the people was too militant to be soothed by soft phrases. And if this had not been the case, I am sure that a resumption of hostilities would have been successfully avoided by the leaders. It is necessary for the workers of tomorrow to realise that the movement of 1932 was not planned and organised by the leaders, as it should have been, but that they were dragged into it. And if this statement be true, should it surprise anybody if the leaders today feel anxious to get out of the troubles into which they were forced in January, 1932?

The Delhi Pact of March, 1931, will appear to be a painful document the more we study it:

(1) In the first place there was not one word of commitment on the part of the British Government on the major issue of Swaraj.
(2) In the second place there was a tacit acceptance of the proposal of federation with the Indian Princes—a proposal which, in my humble opinion, is disastrous to the political progress of the country.
(3) Thirdly, there was no provision for the release of the incarcerated Garhwali soldiers—the finest apostles of non-violence—who refused to shoot down their unarmed countrymen.
(4) Fourthly, there was no provision for the release of the state-prisoners and detenus who were imprisoned without any trial, charge or justification.
(5) Fifthly, there was no provision for the withdrawal of the Meerut Conspiracy Case which had been dragging on for years.
(6) Sixthly, there was no provision for the release of other classes of political prisoners, not convicted for participation in the Civil disobedience movement.

It will thus be seen that the Delhi Pact, by refusing to espouse

the cause of the Garhwali soldiers, the state-prisoners, the Meerut Conspiracy prisoners and the revolutionary prisoners, deprived the Indian National Congress of the claim to be the central organ of the anti-imperialist struggle in India. By declining to be the spokesman of these militant anti-imperialist elements in India, the Indian National Congress stood out before the Indian public as the spokesman and representative of the 'Satyagrahies' (Civil resisters) alone.

If the Delhi Pact of March, 1931, was a blunder, the surrender of May, 1933, is a calamity of the first magnitude. According to the principles of political strategy, at a time when the new constitution for India is under discussion, the maximum pressure should have been brought to bear on the Government by a strengthening of the Civil disobedience movement in the country. By suspending the movement at this critical hour, the work, the suffering and the sacrifice of the nation for the last thirteen years have been virtually undone. And the tragedy of the situation is that the people who could have effectively protested against this gross betrayal are now safely lodged behind prison bars. As to those who are outside prison, a real protest has not probably been possible because of the 21 days' fast of Mahatma Gandhi.

But the die has been cast. Suspension of the Civil disobedience campaign for one month means virtually a permanent suspension—because mass movements cannot be created overnight. So the problem now before us is what we should do to make the most of a bad situation and what policy and plan we should adopt for the future.

Before we can solve this problem, two other questions will have to be answered by us:

(1) With regard to our goal, is a compromise between England and India ultimately possible?
(2) With regard to our method, can India win political freedom by following the path of periodical compromise and without adopting an uncompromisingly militant plan of action?

To the first question I say that such a compromise is not possible. A political compromise is possible only when there is some community of interest. But in the case of England and India there

are no common interests which can make a compromise between the two nations possible and desirable, as we shall see from the following:

(1) There is no social kinship between the two countries.
(2) There is hardly anything in common between the cultures of India and of Britain.
(3) From the economic standpoint, India is to Britain is a supplier of raw materials and a consumer of British manufactures. On the other hand, India aspires to be a manufacturing country, so that she could become self-contained in the matter of manufactured goods and could also export not only raw materials but manufactured goods as well.
(4) India is at present one of the biggest markets for Great Britain. The industrial progress of India therefore is against Britain's economic interests.
(5) India affords employment at present to young Britishers in the army and in the civil administration in India. But this is against India's interests and India wants her own children to occupy all these posts.
(6) India is sufficiently strong and has enough resources to be able to stand on her own legs without the help or patronage of Great Britain. In this respect the position of India is quite different from that of the dominions.
(7) India has so long been exploited and dominated by Britain that there is a genuine apprehension that in the event of a political compromise between the two countries, India will stand to lose and Britain will stand to gain. Moreover, India has developed an 'inferiority complex' as a result of her long servitude, and this 'inferiority complex' will remain as long as India is not completely independent of Britain.
(8) India wants the status of a free country, with her own flag, her own army, navy and defence force, and with her own ambassadors in the capitals of free countries. Without this invigorating and life-giving freedom, Indians will never be able to rise to the full stature of their manhood. Inde-

pendence is to India a psychological, ethical, cultural, economic and political necessity. It is an essential condition of the new awakening in India. Independence, which India aspires after today, is not 'Dominion Home Rule,' as we find in Canada or Australia, but full national sovereignty as obtains in the United States of America or in France.

(9) As long as India remains within the British Empire she will not be able to safeguard the interests of other Indians who have settled in other parts of the Empire. The weight of Great Britain has always been, and always will be thrown on the side of white races—as against the Indians. An independent India, on the other hand, will be able to secure better treatment for her children who have settled in different parts of the British Empire.

It will thus be seen that the basis of a compromise between India and Great Britain does not exist. Consequently, if the leaders of the Indian people disregard this fundamental fact and effect a compromise with the British Government, the arrangement will not last. Like the 'Gandhi-Irwin Pact' of March, 1931, it will be short-lived. The social, economic and political forces working within India are such that no peace is possible between India and Britain till her legitimate aspirations are fulfilled.

The only solution of the present deadlock that is possible is through the attainment of India's freedom. This implies the defeat of the British Government in India. How India can win freedom for herself, we shall now have to consider.

With regard to the second question—namely, the question of the method we should adopt—I may say that the country has already rejected the path of periodical compromise. The support which the country gave to the Indian National Congress was due to the fact that the Congress promised to win Independence for India and promised to fight on and on till this was accomplished. Therefore, in determining our future policy and plan, we should rule out, once for all, the prospect of periodical compromises.

The Congress hoped to win political freedom for India by paralysing the Civil administration of the country through non-

cooperation and Civil disobedience. It is necessary now to analyze the causes of our failure in doing so in order that we may by more successful in the future.

The position of the British Government in India today in relation to the Indian National Congress can be compared to a well-armed and well-equipped fortress standing in the midst of territory which has suddenly become hostile. Now, however well-equipped a fortress may be it requires for its safe existence for all time a friendly civil population living around and near it. But even if the surrounding population become hostile, the fortress has nothing to fear in the immediate future, so long as the people round about it do not make an active attempt to seize the fortress. The objective of the Indian National Congress is to get possession of the fortress now occupied by the British Government. Towards this end the Congress has succeeded in winning over the sympathy and support of the population living round about and near the fortress. This is the first stage of the campaign from the Indian side. For the next stage of the campaign, either or both of the following steps can be taken:

(1) A complete economic blockade of the fortress, which will starve into submission the army occupying the fortress.
(2) An attempt to capture the fortress by force of arms.

In the history of war both these methods have been tried with success. In the last great war Germany was the victor from a military point of view, but she was starved into submission through the economic blockade of the Allies. This blockade was possible because the Allies had control over the seas and over the lines of communication leading into Germany.

In India no attempt has been made to storm the enemy's citadel by force of arms, as the Congress policy has been pledged to non-violence. The economic blockade, though attempted in a general way by the Congress, has failed for three reasons:

(a) All the external communications leading to India are controlled by the Government.
(b) Owing to defective organisation inside India the lines of

communication from the seaports to the interior and from one part of the country to another are not controlled by the Congress, but by the Government.

(c) The machinery for collecting revenue—on which depends the existence of the British Government in India—has not been seriously impaired. There have been deficits in most provinces, no doubt, but the Government have been able to make up either by increased taxation or by borrowing.

In should always be remembered that a nationalist movement can succeed in paralysing a foreign Government only when either or all of the following steps are taken:

(1) Prevention of tax and revenue collection.
(2) Adoption of measures whereby help from other quarters—whether financial or military—may not reach the Government in times of distress.
(3) Winning over the sympathy and support of the present supporters of the British Government in India—that is, of the Army, the Police and Civil Servants—so that orders given by the Government for crushing the movement will not be carried out.
(4) Actual attempt to seize power by force of arms.

The last step has to be ruled out, because the Congress is pledged to non-violence. But it is nevertheless possible to paralyze the present administration and compel it to submit to our demands if we can adopt the following measures:—

(1) Prevent collection of tax and revenue.
(2) Through labour and peasant organisation prevent all kinds of help from reaching the Government when they are in difficulty.
(3) Win the sympathy and support of the Government's own supporters by means of our superior propaganda.

If these three measures are adopted, the Governmental machinery can be thrown out of gear. In the first place, they will have no money to meet the cost of administration. In the second

place, the orders they may issue will not be carried out by their own officers. And, lastly, help sent to the Government from other quarters will not reach them.

There is no royal road to success in winning political freedom. The above three measures have to be adopted in part or in whole if victory is to be achieved. The Congress has failed, simply because it has not succeeded in giving effect satisfactorily to any of the above three measures. The peaceful meetings, processions and demonstrations that have been held during the last few years, in spite of the official ban, show a spirit of defiance no doubt and also cause some annoyance to the Government, but they do not yet menace the very existence of the Government. In spite of all our demonstrations and in spite of seventy thousand persons having gone to prison since January, 1932, the Government can still claim:

(1) That their army is quite loyal.
(2) That their police forces are quite loyal.
(3) That the Civil administration (collection of revenue and taxes, administration of law courts and of prisons, etc.) is still unimpaired.
(4) That the life and property of Government officials and of their supporters are still quite safe.

And the Government can still boast that they do not care if the general population in India today are passively hostile. As long as the people do not actively menace the Government and their supporters, either with arms or through an effective economic blockade, the present Government can continue to exist for an indefinite period, in spite of our non-cooperation and Civil disobedience.

During the last decade there has been an unprecedented awakening all over India. The placid self-complacence of the people is gone. The whole country is throbbing with new life and is yearning for freedom. Fear of official frowns, of imprisonment and of baton charges has disappeared. The prestige of the British has reached its lowest ebb. There is no question of good will on the Indian side towards the British Government. The moral basis of British rule has been demolished, and it rests today on the naked

sword and on nothing else. And India has managed to capture the imagination of the world.

But the fact has to be faced that 'free India' is still a thing of the future! The intentions of the British Government with regard to Indian aspirations as embodied in the recently published White Paper show clearly that they are not yet prepared to part with an iota of real power. Apparently the British Government think that they are strong enough to resist successfully the demand of the Indian people. And if they are strong enough to resist us, it clearly shows that the most strenuous efforts of the Indian people since 1920 have failed to bring us appreciably nearer our goal of 'Swaraj.'

India therefore must resolve to launch another fight on a bigger and more intensive scale. The intellectual and practical preparation for this must be scientific and must rest on objective foundations. The intellectual preparation for this task will entail the following measures:

(i) A scientific examination of the strong and weak points of British Rule in India in relation to the Indian people.
(ii) A scientific examination of the strong and weak points of the Indian people in relation to British rule in India.
(iii) A scientific examination of the rise and fall of empires in other parts of the world.
(iv) A scientific examination of the history of freedom movements in other lands and a study of the gradual evolution of freedom in all its aspects in this world.

When this study is completed—and not till then—shall we be able to form a conception of the magnitude of the task that awaits us.

Our next requirement will be a party of determined men and women who will take upon themselves the task of delivering India—no matter what the suffering and sacrifice involved may be. Whether India will be able to free herself and to live once again as a free nation will depend on whether she can produce the requisite leadership. Her ability to produce the requisite leadership will be the test of her vitality and of her fitness for 'Swaraj.'

Our next requirement will be a scientific plan of action and a

scientific programme for the future. The method of action beginning from today and right up to the conquest of power will have to be visualized and planned out in detail as far as humanly possible. The movement of the future must therefore be made to rest on an objective and scientific foundation in keeping with the facts of history and of human nature. Hitherto, too much appeal has been made to 'inner light' and to subjective feeling in guiding a political campaign which is after all an objective movement.

Besides a plan of action which will lead up to the conquest of power, we shall require a programme for the new state when it comes into existence in India. Nothing can be left to chance. The group of men and women who will assume the leadership of the fight with Great Britain will also have to take up the task of controlling, guiding and developing the new state and, through the state, the entire Indian people. If our leaders are not trained for post-war leadership also there is the possibility that after the conquest of power a period of chaos will set in and incidents similar to those of the French Revolution of the 18th century may be repeated in India. It should therefore be clear that the generals of the war- time period in India will have to carry through the whole programme of post-war reform in order to justify to their countrymen the hopes and aspirations that they will have to rouse during the fight. The task of these leaders will not be over till a new generation of men and women are educated and trained after the establishment of the new state and this new generation are able to take complete charge of their country's affairs.

The party of the future will have to part company with the erstwhile leaders of the Indian people, because there is no possibility that the latter will be able to adopt the principles, programme, policy and tactics that will be required for the next phase of the grim fight with Great Britain. Rarely in history—if ever at all—do we find the leaders of one epoch figuring as the leaders of the next. The times always produce the required men, and this will happen in India also.

The new party will have to play the role of the fighters and leaders in the 'national' campaign against Great Britain and also the role of the architects of new India, who will be called upon to

undertake the work of post-war social reconstruction. The Indian movement will have two phases. In the first phase the fight will be a 'national' fight against Great Britain—though the leadership will be in the hands of the 'party of the people' representing Indian labour and inter-class fight under the leadership of the same party, and during this phase of the campaign—all privileges, distinctions and vested interests will have to be abolished, so that a reign of perfect equality (social, economic and political) may be established in our country. India will be called upon to play an important role in world-history in the near future. We all know that in the seventeenth century England made a remarkable contribution to world-civilisation through her ideas of constitutional and democratic Government. Similarly, in the eighteenth century, France made the most wonderful contribution to the culture of the world through her ideas of 'liberty, equality and fraternity.' During the nineteenth century Germany made the most remarkable gift through her Marxian Philosophy. During the twentieth century Russia has enriched the culture and civilisation of the world through her achievement in proletarian revolution, proletarian Government and proletarian culture. The next remarkable contribution to the culture and civilisation of the world, India will be called upon to make.

It is sometimes urged by our British friends that the British public have an open mind on the Indian question and that we would gain much if we could win their sympathy by means of our propaganda. I do not, however, think that the British Public have an open mind on the Indian question—it is not humanly possible. In India, administration and exploitation go hand in hand, and it is not exploitation by a group of British capitalists and financiers, but the exploitation of India by Great Britain as a whole. The British capital that has been invested in India has not come from the upper classes alone, but also from the middle classes, and probably to some extent from the poorer classes as well. Further, even the working classes of Great Britain cannot afford to see the Indian textile industry thrive at the expense of Lancashire. That is why India has not been made a party question by the great political parties in Great Britain. That is why the policy of brutal repression and persecution was continued in India even when there was a

Labour Government in power in London. I know that there are individual members in the Labour Party who rise above selfish consideration and who are sincere in their desire to do justice to India. But however much we may admire them and however cordial our personal relations with them may be, the fact remains that they are not in a position to influence party decisions. And, judging from our past experience, we may say that we cannot expect any improvement in the Indian situation through a change of Government in Downing Street.

Since politics and economics are inextricably bound up together in India—and since British Rule in India exists not only for political domination but also for economic exploitation—it follows that political freedom is primarily an economic necessity to us. The problem of giving bread to our starving millions—the problem of clothing and educating them—the problem of improving the health and physique of the nation—all these problems cannot be solved so long as India remains in bondage. To think of economic improvement and industrial development before India is free politically, is to put the cart before the horse. We are frequently asked as to what will be the internal condition of India when British Rule disappears from our country. Thanks to British propaganda, India has been portrayed before the world as a country full of internal conflicts in which peace has been preserved by the might of England. India certainly had her internal conflicts in the past, as every other country has. But these conflicts were solved by the people themselves. That is why Indian history from the most ancient times abounds in instances of mighty empires like that of Asoka the Great, under the aegis of which peace and prosperity reigned throughout the land. But the conflicts of today are permanent in character and they are artificially engineered by the agents of the third party in our country. And I have no doubt in my mind that real unity among the Indian people can never be achieved as long as British Rule exists in India.

Though we cannot expect anything from any political party in England, it is exceedingly important and necessary for our purpose that we should organise international propaganda on behalf of India. This propaganda must be both positive and negative. on the

negative side we must refute the lies that are told about India consciously or unconsciously by the agents of Great Britain throughout the world. On the positive side we must bring to the notice of the world the rich culture of India in all its aspects as well as India's manifold grievances. It goes without saying that London must be an important centre for this international propaganda. It is to be regretted that till quite recently the Indian National Congress did not realise the value and the necessity of international propaganda. But we now hope that our countrymen in the days to come will realise in an increasing degree the value of international propaganda.

There is probably nothing which I admire so much about the Britisher as his skill in propaganda. A Britisher is a born propagandist, and to him propaganda is more powerful than howitzers. There is one other country in Europe which has learnt this lesson from Britain, and that is Russia. And it is not surprising that Britain cordially dislikes Russia and is even afraid of her for having discovered the secret of her (Britain's) success.

There is so much of hostile propaganda carried on in this world against India by British agents that if only we could state the real condition of India and her grievances against Britain—we would at once get a large measure of international sympathy. I will now mention some of the points in connection with which active propaganda is necessary throughout the world:

(1) Ill-treatment of political prisoners in India and the transportation of long-term political prisoners to the unhealthy Andaman Islands, where recently two of them have died as a result of hunger-strike.
(2) Extreme vindictiveness displayed by the Government in the matter of issuing passports to Indians. (It is not known outside India that innumerable Indians have been refused passports for going out of India, while Indians living abroad have been refused passports for returning to India.)
(3) The systematic practice of aeroplane bombing in India, particularly in the North-Western Frontier, for terrorising helpless villagers.

(4) The strangling of India's indigenous Industries—including the shipbuilding industry—by Great Britain during her rule in India.

(5) The popular and widespread opposition in India to any scheme of Imperial Preference, including the Ottawa Pact. (The world should be informed that India never accepted the Ottawa Pact, but that it was forced down our unwilling throats).

(6) The popular opposition in India to any proposal for a tariff truce, since India urgently wants protection for her infant industries.

(7) The fixing of the exchange rate arbitrarily by England in a manner that is prejudicial to India's interests. The world should know how Great Britain has robbed India of crores of rupees merely through the manipulation of the exchange rate.

(8) Further, the world should be told that Great Britain has saddled India with a heavy public debt for which Indian nationalists refuse to accept any responsibility. As early as in 1922 the Indian National Congress at its Gaya session gave notice to the Government that it would refuse to accept any responsibility for this public debt. It is a matter of common knowledge that the debt was incurred not for India's benefit, but for the interests of British imperialists.

It is exceedingly important and necessary that some propaganda should be conducted on behalf of India for the World Economic Conference and the Disarmament Conference. A carefully prepared memorandum stating the economic grievances of India against Great Britain and giving expression to the real voice of India on economic questions should be placed before every member of the World Economic Conference.

With regard to the Disarmament question, India should tell the world that British sincerity should be put to the test by making India a test case. In a land where the people have been disarmed for nearly 80 years, where the entire population is altogether emas-

culated, what justification is there for spending more than 50 per cent of the central revenues over military expenditure?

I feel sure that if all the facts in this connection are brought to the notice of the world, there will be an unanswerable case against England.

Whenever the question of India is brought up before a World Congress or a World Conference the usual plea raised by the protagonists of Great Britain is that India is a domestic question so far as the British Empire is concerned. This is a position which Indians should refuse to accept any longer. If India is a member of the League of Nations, surely she is a nation and has all the rights and privileges of a nation. I know that we shall have to fight hard and fight strenuously before we can alter the present status of India in international affairs. Nevertheless it is imperative that the attempt should begin without delay.

It is not necessary for me to go into a detailed consideration of the contents of the White Paper, as they do not deserve such an examination. I shall only say that the proposal of Federation with the Princes is an impossible and unacceptable proposition. We shall certainly work for the unification of the whole of India—for a federation of the Indian people. But we cannot accept the present proposal of substituting the Princes for the present official bloc in the Legislatures, in order to satisfy the whims of Mr Ramsay MacDonald or of Lord Sankey. And it is futile to talk of 'freedom' and 'safeguards' in the same breath. If we are to have freedom there can be no safeguards, for freedom itself is the only safeguard that we can have. To talk of 'safeguards in the interest of India' is but a species of self-deception.

It is not possible to say today when we shall get a constitution which will give some substantial power to the people. But there can be no doubt that when we do get that power the people will insist on having the right to bear arms. They also will say to the world, and particularly to the British Government: 'Disarm, or we shall arm.' While voluntary disarming is a great blessing to this sorrow-stricken world, the forcible disarming of a conquered people for nearly 80 years, as we see in India, is one of the greatest of curses.

And the much-vaunted Pax Britannica which we see in India is not the peace of a healthy life, but peace of the graveyard.

I have already referred to the dual role which the new party will be called upon to play if it is to justify its existence. In order to be able to seize political power and thereafter use it for the creation of a new social order it is necessary that our people should be trained for the task from today. I have no doubt in my own mind that in solving the problems of our national life, when India is free, original thought and fresh experiment will be necessary if we are to achieve success. The experience of the older generation and of the teachers of the past will not be of much avail. The socio-economic conditions of free India will be altogether different from what prevails now. In industry, agriculture, land-tenure, money, exchange, currency, education, prison administration, public health, etc., new theories and novel experiments will have to be devised. We know, for example, that in Soviet Russia a new scheme of national (or political) economy has been evolved in keeping with the facts and conditions of the land. The same thing will happen to India. In solving our economic problem, Pigon and Marshall will not be of much help.

Already in Europe and in England old theories in every department of life are being challenged and new theories are taking their places. As an instance, let me mention the new theory of Free Money, evolved by Silvio Gesell, which has been put into operation in a small community in Germany and proved thoroughly satisfactory. The same thing will happen in India. Free India will not be a land of capitalists, landlords and castes. Free India will be a social and a political democracy. The problems of Free India will be quite different from those of present-day India, and it will therefore be necessary to train men from today who will be able to visualise the future, to think in terms of Free India and solve those problems in anticipation. In short, it will be necessary to educate and train from today the future cabinet of Free India.

Every great movement starts from small beginnings, and so it will be in India. Our first task will be to gather together a group of men and women who are prepared to undergo the maximum sacrifice and suffering which will be necessary if we are to attain

success in our mission. They must be whole-time workers—'Freedom-intoxicated' missionaries—who will not be discouraged by failure or deterred by difficulty of any kind and who will vow to work and strive in the service of the great cause till the last day of their lives.

When these 'morally prepared' men and women are available they must be given the requisite intellectual training so that they may be able to realise the magnitude of their task. They will have to make a scientific and critical study of the freedom movements in other lands, so that they may understand how similar problems have been solved in other countries, in spite of similar difficulties. Side by side with this they must also make a scientific and critical study of the rise and fall of empires in other ages and climes. Armed with this knowledge, they should proceed to make a scientific examination of the strong and weak points of the British Government in India in relation to the Indian people and a similar scientific examination of the strong and weak points of the Indian people in relation to the British Government.

When this intellectual training is completed we shall have a clear notion of the plan of action that will be necessary for the conquest of power and also of the programme that should be put into operation when the new state is brought into existence after the seizure of power. It is thus evident that we want a party of determined men and women who have consecrated their life to the great cause, who have had the necessary intellectual training and who have formed a clear conception of the work they will have to do before the conquest of power and thereafter.

It will be the task of this party to deliver India from foreign yoke. It will be the task of this party to create a new, Independent and sovereign state in India. It will be the task of this party to execute the entire programme of post-war socio-economic reconstruction. It will be the task of this party to create a new generation of men and women in India fully trained and equipped for the battle of life. Last, but not least, it will be the task of this party to lead India on to her honoured place among the free nations of the world.

Let this party be called the Samyavadi Sangh. It will be a

centralised and well-disciplined All-India Party—working amongst every section of the community. This party will have its representatives working in the Indian National Congress, in the All-India Trade Union Congress, in the Peasants' organisations, in the women's organisations, in the youth organisations, in the student organisations, in the depressed classes' organisations, and, if necessary in the interests of the great cause, in the sectarian or communal organisations as well. The different branches of the party working in different spheres and in different places must be under the control and guidance of the central committee of the party.

This party will work in co-operation with any other party that may be working towards the same end, in whole or in part. It will not bear enmity towards any individual or party, but at the same time it will look upon itself as specially called upon to play the role in history that has been described above.

In addition to the activities of the Samyavadi Sangh that we have described above, branches of the Sangh should be started all over the country for carrying on a general propaganda about the ideals, aims and objects of the new party. The Samyavadi Sangh will stand for all round freedom for the Indian people—that is for social, economic and political freedom. It will wage a relentless war against bondage of every kind till the people can become really free. It will stand for political independence for India so that a new state can be created in Free India on the basis of the eternal principles of justice, equality and freedom. It will stand for the ultimate fulfilment of India's mission, so that India may be able to deliver to the world the message that has been her heritage through the past ages.

Vienna, Prague, Warsaw and Berlin
Impressions

During my brief stay in Europe I have had the opportunity of visiting four of its big cities—viz., Vienna, Prague, Warsaw and

Berlin. Owing to my interest in municipal affairs in general and my long and intimate association with the Corporation of Calcutta, I took special pains to look into the civic affairs and civic development of these big cities.

In all these places I was cordially received by the Mayor, who was good enough to make special arrangements enabling me to visit the different departments of the municipality—viz., Water Works, Gas Works, Electricity Works, Municipal Schools, Social Welfare institutions, Sewage Works, etc. The Mayor was also good enough to send his cordial greetings to the Mayor and citizens of Calcutta. I have already forwarded to the Mayor of Calcutta the messages sent by the Mayor of Vienna, Prague and Warsaw, and shall during the course of the next week, forward the message kindly given by the Mayor of Berlin.

In all these cities, I found that not only the Mayor but all the departmental heads as well, were quite willing to be of help to us in solving our civic problems in far-off India. At any time in the future, we can make any reference to them with the confident belief that they will do their best to help us. Further, I found that there was a genuine desire everywhere to come into close contact with India in the handling and solution of civic problems and civic affairs.

The general impression that I formed during my visit to these famous cities was that our cities in India can hold their own when compared with these European cities. Nevertheless, I feel that we should be in closer touch with all the recent developments that have been going on in different departments of civic life.

There is much that we can profit by in each of these famous cities. It is not possible to go into all that in a short article. I appeal to all friends who are connected with the Calcutta Corporation to take a greater interest in all that is going on in other big cities in this world.

I have already informed the Mayor and the Corporation of Calcutta that my services in this connection are entirely at their command. If they so desire, I may write a book embodying all that I have seen and learnt in Vienna as well as in the other big cities in Europe. But without a special mandate it is not possible for me

to undertake the task. This task will entail not only some expenditure of money for me, but—what is more important—it will entail a considerable expenditure of time and energy. And in the present state of my health and finance, before I can undertake the task, I must feel sure that I have a special mandate from the Mayor and the Corporation of Calcutta in this connection.

25 November 1933

The Calcutta Corporation

To 1 March 1934
The Editor
Manchester Guardian

Sir,

Mr J.C. French, in your issue of February 8, quotes Mr Nalini Ranjan Sarkar in support of his statement before the Joint Parliamentary Committee that the Calcutta (Municipal) Corporation had gone bankrupt.

As I stated in my last letter, owing to the world crisis, the finances of the Calcutta Corporation have suffered. Nevertheless, the year 1933–34 began with an opening balance of Rs 66,24,000, as against a statutory requirement of Rs 6,00,000. A reference to the report will show that the so-called deficit of which Mr French makes so much refers to the estimated income and expenditure for the current year, leaving out of consideration the huge opening balance which should normally be credited on the income side. The opening balance for 1934–35 will be Rs 53,66,000.

Mr Sarkar, in his report, demanded the balancing of the recurring income and recurring expenditure every year, so that the huge opening balance could be made permanent. The estimated income of the Calcutta Corporation for the current year being Rs 2,56,82,000, the opening balance for the year represents more than

25 per cent of the annual income. Let Mr French compare with this the annual deficit of about Rs 200,000,000 which the Bengal Government has had for several years during the last decade.

With reference to the charge of teaching terrorism in the schools of the Calcutta Corporation, I regret I have not been able to find the speech which Mr French says the Minister made on Sept. 9, 1933, in the Bengal Legislative Council on the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill. The bill was actually passed into law on September 8, 1933. Mr H.P.V. Townend, I.C.S., Secretary to the Department of Local-Self Government and a spokesman of the Bengal Govt., however, stated in the Bengal Council on September 4, 1933:

> It had been suggested that he had stated that the Corporation of Calcutta encouraged revolutionary activities and that it was an anti-Government body. That was not a correct interpretation of his speech. There were good reasons to suppose, Mr Townend continued, that the Corporation had gone out of its way to encourage disobedience to law. None had suggested that it encouraged terrorism directly. (Calcutta Municipal Gazette, September 9, 1933 page 6 of the supplement.)

I have not said anything in defence of (or against) the employment of terrorism by the Calcutta Corporation for the simple reason that the charge has not been substantiated. The Amending Act has not provided for the dismissal of any employee of the Corporation, and, in my view, the Government brought forward the bill because the Calcutta Corporation refused on principle to debar permanently from their service, in future, all ex-political prisoners.

The Amending Act has disqualified only those who may be convicted of an offence against the state or may be sentenced to imprisonment for a term of three months or more. Consequently the 2,000 'detenus' who are now in prison under the old regulation or under the recent ordinance are eligible for employment by the Corporation. It may be further pointed out that while the Amending Act may disqualify certain people from municipal service, it does not disqualify them from election as Councillor or Alderman or Mayor. According to the Amending Act, further, Sir Surendra

Nath Banerjee, who as minister brought the present Corporation into existence, would be disqualified for any service under the Corporation, though he would become the Mayor of Calcutta.

What is most astounding to an impartial outsider is the statement of the Minister in the Bengal Council to the effect 'that the provisions of the bill were never meant to apply to persons convicted of offence of a non-political character.' The Congress Party cannot take the same view as Mr French with regard to 'Political offence,' because they know that many countries in Europe today are being ruled by ex-political prisoners—for instance, Ireland, Italy, Germany, Russia—and because they believe that in spite of all that may be happening today no one can in the long run prevent the Congress party from getting into power in India.

Yours, etc.

Subhas C. Bose

The Austrian Riddle*

The world conflagration in 1914 started from Austria. So people everywhere are now asking: 'What will the Socialist Revolution of 1934 in Austria lead to?'

The European situation is so complicated today that it is difficult to predict the future. About the middle of 1933 in Vienna, I was discussing the Austrian situation with an exceedingly intelligent and well-informed English journalist who had travelled widely. The atmosphere in Vienna was then full of excitement and people were talking of a *coup d'etat*. 'No,' he said, 'there will be nothing of the kind. The Austrians are a genial-hearted people. I have seen matters approaching a crisis several times but on every occasion the storm blew over. This will happen once again.' He was right and yet he was not.

* *The Modern Review*, Calcutta: April, 1934, pp. 461–8.

Talking of the events of February, 1934, in Vienna the *Manchester Guardian* remarked pithily: 'The Socialists of Austria have been overthrown but unlike their comrades in Germany they have gone down fighting.' The attitude of the *Manchester Guardian* has been sympathetic towards the Austrian Socialists, whom it regards as the upholders of Parliamentary Democracy and Liberty in Central Europe. The tone of the London *Times*, on the other hand, has been distinctly sympathetic towards the present Austrian Government. The victory of the Austrian Socialists would undoubtedly have strengthened the Socialists throughout Europe and a Conservative paper like the *Times* will naturally take up an anti-Socialist attitude. The attitude of the Italian Press has on the whole been in support of the present Austrian Government. It is well known that the Austrian Government are on very friendly terms with the Italian Government and the former are drawing up a Constitution for Austria based on the Italian model. The attitude of the German Press has not been friendly towards the Austrian Government though the latter were engaged in suppressing the Socialists whom the Nazis in Germany regard as their enemies. People say that two factors account for this attitude on the part of the German Press. In the first place, the Austrian Government before attacking the Austrian Socialists, had suppressed the Austrian Nazis and in doing so, had incurred the wrath of the German Press. In the second place, by adopting a friendly attitude towards the Austrian Socialists, the Germans hope to win over to their cause the immense following which the Socialist Party had, and probably still has, in Austria. An additional factor, sometimes suggested, is that since the Austrian Government have been getting the support of France in their effort to suppress the Austrian Nazis, it is but natural that they should antagonize the Germans, even though they may be engaged at the moment in overthrowing the Socialists.

Twelve months ago, I wrote to the Indian papers about a three-cornered fight that had been going on between the Socialists, Nazis and Heimwehr and I stated that the ultimate fate of Austria would greatly influence the future trend of European politics. Today, one of the parties, *viz.*, the Socialist, has gone out of action and the future therefore lies between the other two. If the Nazi

Party comes into power then with or without the formal union or Anschluss, Austria will become virtually a part of Germany. This would mean a considerable accession of power to Germany and the three great Powers in Europe are therefore opposed to it. Italy with her population of forty million and odd will not, moreover, like to see a Germany of more than seventy million stretching from her northern frontier right up to the North Sea. And the German-speaking people in the Italian (now Italian, but formerly Austrian) Tyrol may begin to get restless, particularly when Germany has, time and again, broadcast her intention of unifying the German-speaking peoples in Europe. Therefore, while the Austrian Nazis get the moral support of Germany, the Heimwehr Party who are opposed to them, get the moral support of Italy. But whatever the present position in Europe may be, to an impartial student of History it appears inevitable that after the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the German-speaking peoples of Germany and Austria should ultimately be drawn into one political unit. In their extreme vindictiveness, the Allied Powers at the Treaty of Versailles tore up into fragments the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and did not pause for a moment to realize that it was impossible for small countries like Austria and Hungary of today to exist as independent political units. It is only now that thinking men and women in the Allied countries have begun to realize that Austria can exist only as a part of Germany or as a part of a political unit like Austro-Hungary. Nearly a year ago when I was discussing Austrian politics with an American journalist, I ventured the remark that if the Allied Powers really wanted to keep Austria away from Germany, they should encourage, from the point of view of political strategy, a restoration of the Hapsburg Monarchy in Austria and Hungary. I distinctly remember at the time the American journalist looked at me as if I were a political babe—so strange my remark appeared to him. But today when I find that people in different countries are freely discussing the idea of a revival of the Austro-Hungarian Monarch and when I read in the European Press that the supporters of Monarchy in Hungary and in Austria have recently been meeting in Vienna for discussing common problems, I feel satisfied that my conjecture of a year ago was not altogether wrong. Whatever our

own political predilections may be, there can be no doubt that if the Allied Powers really wanted to divide the German-speaking peoples of Central Europe, they should have forgotten their prejudice against the Hapsburg Monarchy and after recognising the self-determination of the Czechs, Slovaks and other Slav races, they should have left Austro-Hungary intact. As a student of History, to me at least it appears probable that in the long run Austria will have to join with the German Reich or she will have to join Hungary in one political unit. The present position is in any case an unstable equilibrium and it cannot last. To a superficial observer it will appear that the contrary of what I have just said is the truth. Order has been restored throughout Austria. The Austrian Nazis have been checkmated, while the Austrian Socialists completely suppressed. Great Britain, France and Italy have guaranteed the independence of Austria in a public communique and this move has been rightly interpreted as a determination on the part of these three Powers to keep Austria away from Germany. There is also no doubt that these three Powers would also be willing to help the Austrian Government with loans, etc., in order to help her out of the present financial morass. But will that be enough to satisfy the Austrian people and put them on their legs? To answer that question we shall have to go a little deeper into recent Austrian history.

The present Austrian Government has been composed mainly of three parties: (1) the Christian Socials, (2) the Heimwehr and (3) the Agrarians. The Heimwehr Party are at the moment the most important element and following the example of Russia, Italy and Germany they are trying to have all the other political parties in Austria forcibly dissolved. The latest news goes to show that Herr Dolfuss, the present Prime Minister of Austria and the leader of the Christian Socials, has agreed to the dissolution of his party. If the Heimwehr succeed in the task of suppressing all the other parties, then the future development of Austrian politics will depend to some extent on the internal politics of the Heimwehr Party.

The Heimwehr are the Austrian brand of Fascists who draw their inspiration from Italy. While the Austrian Nazis dress in brown like their German comrades, the Heimwehr dress in green and white and their flag consists of these two colours. They have

much in common with the Nazis in their ideas and in their methods. Both are opposed to Parliamentary Democracy and believe in Dictatorship. To an outsider, it appears strange that two parties having so much in common should be fighting. But the fact is that within the Heimwehr, there was, and still is, an influential section in favour of uniting or co-operating with the Nazis and it is an open secret that till lately, negotiations were being carried on to that effect.

The rapid growth of an Austrian Fascist Party like the Hiemwehr can be traced to three factors: (1) Anti-Socialist feeling, (2) National sentiment, (3) International support. At the end of the last War, when the Government of Germany passed into the hands of the Social Democrats, in Austria, though the Federal Government came under the control of the Christian Socials, the administration of Vienna Municipality and of the Vienna province passed into the hands of the Socialists. The Austrian Socialists have all along had the reputation of being the most radical Socialist Party in Europe and the Conservative elements in Austria did not therefore view with favour the idea that such a radical party should be in control of the most strategic position in Austrian public life. The post-War situation in Austria has all along been one of unstable equilibrium. In a country with a population of six and a half millions the Federal Government has been controlled by anti-Socialist Christian Socials but they have been unable to dislodge the militant Austrian Socialists from the administration of the capital city and the major province of the country. On the other hand, the Socialists have been unable to extend their influence further and capture the Federal Government of the country because in the countryside, as distinct from the cities, they have had less influence than the other rival parties. In such a situation the ultimate overthrow of one of the parties was to be expected. To entrench themselves more securely, the Socialists had organized a private army called the Schutzbund. A purely political party like the Christian Socials of Herr Dolfuss stood no chance in an ultimate struggle for power with the Socialists. Therefore, to fight the latter, a militant party like the Heimwehr had to be born. This party was anti-Socialist in

its objective from the very beginning and therefore an alliance was at once struck between the Christian Socials and the Heimwehr.

Some other minor considerations made the Heimwehr and the Christian Socials bitterly opposed to the Socialists. The Austrian Socialists have on the whole been anti-religious, or at least against the domination of the Catholic Church and as long as the Socialist Party was ruling in Germany, they were in favour of the Anschluss *i.e.*, the Union with Germany. The anti-religious attitude of the Socialists gave the Christian Socials *i.e.*, the Catholic Party, an immense following among the peasantry, who all the world over are well known for their conservative instincts. And the danger of ultimate absorption in Germany under the auspices of the Socialist Party gave the Heimwehr Party an opportunity of rallying the support of the Austrian aristocracy to their cause. It should be remembered that as an Empire, Austria is much older than Germany and it is Austria that had inherited the halo of the Holy Roman Empire. As long as Austria remained separate from Germany, the Austrian aristocracy would have some position in the country but if Austria were to be absorbed into the German Reich, then they would be nowhere. Therefore a well-known and wealthy aristocrat like Prince Starhemberg came forward to lead the *Heimwehr* (literally, the Defenders of the Home) for preserving the integrity of the Austrian State and the power and influence of the old aristocratic families.

History was utilized in order to give an impetus to this party. In June, 1933, when I was in Vienna, the Austrian Government celebrated the 250th anniversary of the victory over the Turks. In 1683, the Turks, after overrunning Eastern Europe, had laid siege to Vienna and one of those responsible for the ultimate defeat of the Turks was Starhemberg, an ancestor of the Prince Starhemberg, the present leader of the Heimwehr. The June celebration naturally had the support of the entire Austrian population but it was so manoeuvred that one important result of it was to enhance the reputation of Prince Starhemberg and therefore of his party. As a part of the celebration, 40,000 Heimwehr volunteers in their green and white uniforms came to Vienna from the country and had a route march through the streets of Vienna. Throughout the route

march I heard the supporters of the Heimwehr shouting 'Heil Starhemberg' while the Nazis in reply shouted 'Heil Hitler'—and were chased by the Police for doing so. At the end of the celebration I congratulated a Heimwehr leader on the fine discipline shown by his volunteers, but he did not seem to be at all enthusiastic about the function and he complained that the Viennese public were not on the whole sympathetic to the Heimwehr and that in the working class quarters they had even been pelted with rotten eggs. That was in June last year. But within the next eight months they improved their public position to such an extent as to render it possible for them to make a direct assault on their enemies, the Austrian Nazis and the Austrian Socialists. To follow the steps taken one after another, for undermining their enemies, will afford an interesting study in political strategy.

At the end of the last War it was generally thought that the era of Nationalism had ended in Europe and that of social reconstruction had begun in right earnest. It is now clear, however, that the era of Nationalism has not ended. As long as the principle of self-determination is not consistently applied throughout Europe the nationalist struggle cannot cease. While the Treaty of Versailles did justice to the Czechs, Poles and the Italian-speaking people then under Austrian rule, it did considerable injustice to Germans and Hungarians who were placed under the rule of some other races. This injustice was possible at the time of the Treaty of Versailles because a feeling of extreme vindictiveness inspired the victors at the Peace Conference preceding the Treaty. Until this wrong is righted, the era of nationalist struggle cannot end in Europe nor can the possibility of war be averted.

In spite of a favourable soil for the growth of the Heimwehr Party in Austria, and in spite of the fact that the Heimwehr from the very beginning entrenched themselves on national sentiment and tradition, they could not have achieved much progress without the help of another party in Austria and without international support outside. It is here that the help of an able political leader like Herr Dolfuss proved to be invaluable. Under his leadership, the Federal Government has been formed, commanding the support of the Christian Social, Heimwehr and Agrarian Parties and

in opposition to the Socialist and Nazi Parties. Without a militant party like the Heimwehr, Herr Dolfuss would not have been able to cope with the militant Nazis or with the militant Socialists who had their disciplined corps of volunteers, called the Schutzbund. So Herr Dolfuss naturally welcomed the alliance with the militant Heimwehr. The Heimwehr, on their side, stood to gain even more. Through Herr Dolfuss they got the support of an influential party like the Christian Socials and through this party, of the entire Catholic Church. Through Herr Dolfuss again they got the support of the Allied Powers in the struggle against the Austrian Nazis who had the moral support of Germany. Last but not least, the political wisdom and sagacity of Herr Dolfuss was of great help to them. Without his caution and restraint, they would in all probability, have courted disaster by rushing things prematurely.

In 1933 it appeared as if Herr Dolfuss and the Christian Socials were making use of the Heimwehr in their double fight against the Socialists and the Austrian Nazis. And there is no doubt that much of the international support which the Austrian Government had been getting was because of the impression abroad that they were engaged primarily in suppressing the Austrian Nazis. The same international support would not have been forthcoming if it had been then realized that the Austrian Government would soon strike so brutally at the Socialist Party in Austria. The Austrian Socialists had friends in Great Britain and in France and since they had put aside the proposal of the Anschluss or Union with Germany, since the Nazis got into power there, there was no reason for Great Britain or France to be enthusiastic in their support of Herr Dolfuss if he was to strike against the Socialists in Austria. Therefore, it was sound tactics for the Austrian Government to attack the Nazi Party in Austria first and rally the fullest measure of international support while doing so. After getting world opinion on their side and checkmating the Nazis in Austria they could safely proceed with the task of dealing with the Socialists. It would have landed them in disaster if they had attempted to deal with the Socialists first. After the overthrow of the Socialists it appears as if the Heimwehr will make use of the Prime Minister Herr Dolfuss more then he will be able to exploit them.

In March, 1933, when I first came to Vienna the Austrian Government had a bare majority of one in the Lower Chamber of the Federal Parliament. That was a precarious position for any Government and could not last indefinitely. So, taking advantage of the resignation of the Speaker, the Government, one fine morning in March, 1933, suspended the Parliament and began to govern the country by decree. Since then, Parliament has been in a state of suspended animation. In March, 1933, the accession of the Nazis to power in Germany had focussed public attention in Europe on Germany. The Austrian Socialists did not therefore realize what was happening in their own home. Moreover, since the Parliamentary opposition consisted of both the Socialists and the Austrian Nazis, many Socialists were foolish enough to think that the Government aimed primarily at the Nazis and not at themselves. After the suspension of Parliament, the Government hurled their attack more against the Nazis than against the Socialists and this was largely responsible for lulling the latter into a sense of security. While this was going on, one could discover a lurking sympathy for Herr Dolfuss in his extra-parliamentary activities against the Nazis, on the part of certain Socialists. In discussing Austrian politics with the Socialist rank and file in those days, one clearly had the impression that they did not realize the gravity of the menace that loomed large in front of them. Any impartial outsider like myself could feel in those days that the time was not far off when the Austrian Government would turn aside and attack the Socialists. It must be said to the credit of Herr Dolfuss that on more occasions than one he made it quite clear that the Government were fighting on a double front, *i.e.*, against the Nazis and the Socialists.

When in March, 1933, the Government suspended Parliament the Speaker who belonged to the oppositionist Party, summoned Parliament in defiance of the Government. Great was the curiosity and excitement of the people and every one was asking—'What will the Government do?' The Government ordered the Police to prevent Parliament from assembling, but before they could arrive on the scene, the oppositionist deputies managed to get into Parliament House and at the appointed hour, the proceedings com-

menced. The ministers and their supporters were not present, of course; nevertheless, the action of the oppositionist deputies was not without value. The only regret that Parliamentarians should have is that the opposition did not follow up their first act of defiance. The entire responsibility for this devolves on the leaders of the Socialist Party. When the Government found that the oppositionist Parties had taken the suspension of Parliamentary Government lying down, they prepared for a further attack on public liberty. The International Labour Day celebration on the first of May was banned. Such an order had not been made even under the rule of the Hapsburg Emperors. Police and military were called out in order to prevent the Socialists from demonstrating within the City though they were allowed to hold a public meeting and a sports exhibition in the Municipal Stadium. I was able to attend this meeting and was profoundly impressed with what I saw. There were at least sixty thousand people present. Five thousand girls and elderly women gave a demonstration of physical drill. Boys and grown-up men also gave a similar demonstration. The element of youth present on the occasion was very large and it showed clearly that the Socialist Party had a considerable following among the younger generation. The Party leaders spoke with great passion and sincerity; nevertheless it struck me at the time that they were a trifle older than what they should have been. And I remember having remarked to young Socialist friends that their Party should throw up younger leaders. In contrast with the Socialist Party, the Nazi leadership was younger and more virile. On the first of May, the Nazis also had their meeting in a closed arena though they could not demonstrate within the City. Their attendance was nothing like what the Socialists had commanded, but they displayed greater enthusiasm and virility.

After the first of May, the Government did not make any further direct attack on the Socialist Party but directed their attention to the Nazi Party. Thereby they lulled the Socialists into a sense of security and also rallied international support in favour of their anti-Nazi policy. True, the Government banned the Socialist Schutzbund (Volunteers) not long after the May Day affair but the Socialist Party did not appear to be at all excited over the ban. They

thought that they could continue to function secretly and they got some consolation in the fact that the Nazi Volunteers had also been banned by the Government. The premier Socialist organ, *Arbeiter Zeitung* was placed under censorship but it was not suppressed, whereas not long after this, the Nazi papers began to be suppressed one by one. Simultaneously, an order was issued prohibiting the Nazis from wearing any uniform in public. And the climax of the attack was the forcible seizure of the Nazi Headquarters throughout the country. While this attack on the Nazis was going on in Austria, they were not idle, nor did they take things lying down. They continued their demonstrations and their activities in spite of the Government ban. The Socialists during this period continued to grumble about the restrictions placed on some of their activities and also about the seizure of some of the funds of the Socialist Municipality by the Government but they did not organize any resistance or opposition. If they had joined hands with the Nazis in a common resistance against the Government of the day, it is difficult to say what would have happened. Unfortunately for them the Nazi menace was looming so large in front of them that they were unable to realize the true dimensions of the Governmental menace. I had sometimes remarked to some Socialist friends that it was not unlikely that the Government was doing for the Austrian Nazis what the Von Papen Government had done for the German Nazis but to that remark no reply was forthcoming. Just as the Socialists had remained quiet while the Government had been attacking the Nazis, so also the Nazis remained quiet when the Government attacked the Socialists this year. The future alone will show whether from the point of view of political strategy the action of the Austrian Nazis was correct. It was idle for the Socialist leaders to have expected last year that the Government would ruthlessly suppress the Nazis but would allow them to exist. Nevertheless there are Nazis who view with perfect equanimity the suppression of the Socialists in Austria this year and who think that the Government have only made their ultimate task much easier for them.

Last year I was of the opinion that the Austrian Government were acting contrary to the laws of political strategy by carrying on the struggle on a double front and that if they wanted to succeed,

they should make up with one of the two opposing parties. I must confess that as a student of History, I never expected that they (the Government) would be so successful in overthrowing both the oppositionist parties. The credit for this belongs largely to the political sagacity displayed by Herr Dolfuss. During the last twelve months he has always acted in the fulness of time. He has never shown any weakness in dealing with his political enemies nor has he been guilty of premature rashness in action. I must now refer to two important steps that he took last year in order to prepare for the final knock-out blow that he gave his opponents last year. The first step refers to the arming of the Heimwehr and their absorption in the ranks of the Governmental police. The second step refers to the holding of the Catholic Congress in Vienna last year.

It was said by many people last year in Vienna that while the Government could command an armed force of approximately 30,000 (including soldiers and police), both the Socialists and the Heimwehr could command an armed force of about the same number. The problem for the Government therefore was how to increase the armed forces at the disposal of the Government in preparation for a civil war as took place in February this year. The Government solved this problem by taking over large numbers of the Heimwehr and giving them full military training. The important part which the Heimwehr Volunteers were called upon to play in fighting the Socialist Schutzbund this year, shows how helpless the Governmental forces would have been without their assistance. This additional force was all the more necessary because of their pro-Nazi sympathies. (It is now an open secret that Nazi propaganda was active in the ranks of the Austrian Police and the Military.)

I have already referred to the want of enthusiasm on the part of the Viennese public which the Heimwehr and the supporters of the Government experienced in June last year. To convert the Viennese public, it was necessary to impress upon them that the Government had a large following. The Heimwehr demonstration of June, 1933 served some useful purpose in that connection but it was not enough. Therefore in September of last year, the Catholic Congress of German-speaking peoples was convened in Vienna. I was fortunate to be present again in Vienna on the occasion. The

Government had made elaborate arrangements for Catholic people to visit Vienna from different parts of Austria and of other German-speaking Catholic countries. His Holiness the Pope was prevailed upon to send his Apostolic Delegate on the occasion. At a modest estimate, 200,000 people must have visited Vienna for the occasion. A fair had also been arranged in Vienna at about the same time and special railway facilities had been offered for those who visited Vienna. The additional crowd coming for the Vienna Fair and for the Catholic Congress meant more business for the hotels and the boarding-houses of Vienna and for the business community of Vienna in general. This money put into the pockets of the Viennese people in times of financial stringency helped to buy up their support, though in an unconscious way. Further, the colossal crowds of countryside people who had come to Vienna for the Catholic Congress at the instance of the Government gave every one the impression that the Government had a large following in the country and that the entire Catholic Church, including His Holiness the Pope, supported the Government of Herr Dolfuss. To an outsider like myself who moved in and out of the huge crowds, the religious sincerity of the people was quite evident. But it was equally evident that the Government were making political capital out of the Catholic Congress, though the arrangement was so clever that the ordinary man in the street did not probably realize it. Military demonstrations were also held in connection with the Catholic Congress demonstrations. The net result of the September ceremonies was to give people, and the particularly the Viennese public, the impression that the Government had an extremely strong position, having the support of the Catholic Church, the Army and the countryside people of Austria. And the prestige and reputation of Herr Dolfuss stood higher than it had ever done before.

I remember an incident that took place in Vienna at about this time. In one of the demonstrations that took place near the Rathaus (*i.e.* the Town Hall where the Mayor holds his office,) one of the Heimwehr leaders pointing to the Rathaus said that he hoped that the day would soon come when the Government would turn out the Bolsheviks (meaning the Socialists) from the building and purge

Vienna of their party. When I read the other day that the Government and Heimwehr forces had forcibly taken possession of the Rathaus and had made a prisoner of the Socialist Mayor, the speech of the Heimwehr leader appeared to me almost prophetic.

After the September ceremonies, the Government felt strong enough to proceed ruthlessly with its task of suppressing the oppositionist parties. The first few months were devoted to the suppression of the Nazis and when this was almost complete, the Government, with the advent of the new year, prepared for the assault on the Socialists. Looking at recent events in their proper perspective, it seems clear that the Socialists were fighting a losing game. Though they controlled the administration of the Vienna Municipality and of the Vienna province, their position was always weak. Abroad they had hardly any international support, while the ignominious failure of the Social Democrats in Germany had produced a demoralizing effect on Austria. The Catholic Church was dead against them and recent events have demonstrated what a strong hold the Catholic Church still has in Austria. Within Austria, they had to fight two powerful enemies, the Nazis on the one side and Christian Socials and Heimwehr on the other. In these circumstances, could they have done more?

It is quite true, as the *Manchester Guardian* reported, that the Socialists of Austria, unlike their comrades in Germany, have gone down fighting. It is a tragedy of history that a party with such a glorious record of public and social service as the Austrian Socialist Party should be overthrown and crushed in this manner. The only consolation is that they have created history. As Mr Harold Laski wrote in the London *Daily Herald* the other day, in the history of the socialist struggle, Vienna will rank alongside of the Paris Commune and of the Russian Revolution of 1905. While admitting all that, I cannot at the same time help thinking that if the Socialist leadership had shown greater political sagacity, events might have taken a different course. From admission made in Socialist circles now, it appears that till the very last, the Socialist leaders were negotiating for a compromise with the Government. There can be no complaint about the character of the Socialist rank and file, because, at the bidding of their leaders, they have shown of what

stuff they are made. But were the leaders justified in lulling the party into a sense of security and in putting off the final struggle till the eleventh hour had struck?

While the Socialist Party has ceased to exist in Austria, the same cannot be said of the Nazis. As long as National Socialism rules in Germany, the Nazis will exist in Austria. Germany is putting the fullest economic pressure on Austria in order to bring about the downfall of the present Government. Will the present Government be able to solve the economic problem of the Austrian people? And will the Allied Powers, who are so anxious to keep Austria away from Germany, render adequate financial assistance to the present Austrian Government? If history answers both these questions in the affirmative, then undoubtedly the present Government will have a long lease of life. Otherwise there are only two alternatives for the Austrian people—a federation with Germany or with Hungary.

One of the conclusions to be drawn from the February events is that a comparatively small but well-disciplined armed force as the Austrian Government had, can overpower with the aid of artillery, any well-armed force that may be pitched against it.

Things are quiet now in Austria and will remain so for some time at least. The work of transformation is going on briskly. The green-and-white flag of the Heimwehr is flying on the top of Rathaus in order to proclaim the expulsion of the Socialist regime. The triple busts of the leaders who founded the Austrian Republic have been removed and the busts of Herr Dolfuss, Prince Starhemberg and Major Fey (Heimwehr Leader) have been substituted instead. The palatial building built by the Socialist Municipality for the workers and named as Marxhof has been renamed as Dollfusshof. As a substitute for the Horned Cross or Swastika of the Nazis, Herr Dolfuss has designed a new cross as a symbol for his party. All the tactics, methods and devices employed in countries like Russia, Italy and Germany will be introduced in Austria as well. But the main problem on which will depend the future of Austrian politics is the economic problem. Till this problem is solved, there can be no peace in Austria.

A lot of speculation is going on now as to what course Herr

Dolfuss will follow hereafter. Will he be able to maintain his independence or will he surrender completely to the Heimwehr? When his party—the Christian Socials—has been dissolved, where does he stand now? What kind of Constitution will he force on Austria? Will it be an imitation of the Italian Constitution or a modification of it?

In an exceedingly well-written article in the February (1934) number of the *Nineteenth Century* Elizabeth Wiskemann has pleaded passionately for a rapprochement between the Catholic Church and Socialism in Austria in order to save the country from going over to the National Socialists. In view of the virtual extinction of the Socialist Party after the February events, the appeal is a belated one. To any outside observer it will appear clear that the Heimwehr have not got the upper hand and it will not be possible for Herr Dolfuss to maintain his independence as against them. The inner politics of the Heimwehr Party will determine the future of Austrian politics. Within the Heimwehr there has been a pro-Nazi group and also a monarchist group. The pro-Nazi section have, for the time being, been suppressed but the monarchist group have gained in importance. The latest news from Vienna goes to show that members of the Royal family are now openly identifying themselves with the Heimwehr Party and that the monarchists in Austria and in Hungary have not only become active but have been holding deliberations jointly. Interesting developments may therefore take place at any time. But whatever happens, there is no doubt that for some time at least, the Allied Powers will be able to do much in the way of influencing the trend of Austrian politics. Austria still continues to be the storm-centre of European politics, though outwardly she may appear to be calm. The Vienna Correspondent of the London *Times* seems to think that the best course for the outside Powers would be to back Herr Dolfuss and his Government and he also seems to think that the Constitution which he will give Austria will have only a 'Fascist leaven.' But in view of the influence of the Heimwehr in Austria today and the relations between the party and Italy, it seems more probable that the future constitution will be based on the Italian model. No doubt the earlier declarations of Herr Dolfuss referred to 'a Christian Corporative'

State but he was then really under the influence of the Catholic Church and he was probably drawing his inspiration from the Papal Encyclical of 1931 which laid down the views of the Catholic Church on the question of social reorganization. But today it is well-nigh impossible for Herr Dolfuss to do anything in opposition to the Heimwehr and it is extremely doubtful if the latter would go as far as the Prime Minister in following the directions of the Catholic Church. Whatever happens in Austria hereafter will be of interest to the outside world and will have far-reaching repercussions throughout Europe.

Vithalbhai Patel's Will*

Up till now I have refrained from press publicity in connection with the bequest made by the late Mr V.J. Patel. I have however, been in correspondence with friends who were interested in the matter. Some of them have now strongly urged that I should make public what I have already communicated to them, so that I could reach a wider circle who are equally interested in the matter.

The relevant portion of the will of the revered testator runs thus:

> 'The balance of my assets after disposal of the above-mentioned four gifts is to be handed over to Subhas Chandra Bose (son of Janaki Nath Bose) of 1 Woodburn Park, Calcutta, to be spent by the said Subhas Chandra Bose or by his nominee or nominees according to his instructions for the political uplift of India and preferably for publicity work on behalf of India's cause in other countries.'

For reasons best known to the departed great—and probably because our views on public questions were identical and for that reason he had greater confidence in me—he was pleased to entrust

* Statement issued to the United Press, August 1934.

me with a great responsibility. That responsibility is to be a sacred trust which I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to fulfill.

As I have already informed friends with whom I have been in correspondence, in discharging my duties under the will I desire to take the public into full confidence both with regard to the plan of work and the expenditure that will have to be incurred. Apart from my duty as a public servant, there is an additional reason why I must do so. The amount that has been bequeathed by the departed leader will prove to be quite inadequate if we have to work in a systematic and effective manner. Therefore, additional funds will have to be raised. It was the late Mr V.J. Patel's earnest desire to do so on his return home and in his absence I shall have to give effect to it. It goes without saying that one cannot raise funds from members of the public without taking them into confidence.

I should state further that in fulfilling the objects of the legacy, I desire to seek the assistance and advice of such friends as honestly believed in his programme and policy. It is difficult for me to mention names at this stage, but I may say that I am desirous of seeking the help of friends like Mr K.F. Nariman, Mr S.A. Brelvi, Mr R. Bhawan, Mr Deep Narayan Singh etc. In the execution of the responsibility with which I have been entrusted, I shall scrupulously respect the intentions and ideas of the revered testator and the provisions of the law—and one of his intentions was to work within the bounds of law.

It is clear from the terms of the will that I have been appointed the sole trustee. I am prepared to work in a responsible and constitutional manner to the satisfaction of the public, in accordance with the provisions of the will and the requirements of the law—but out of loyalty to the departed leader, I cannot possibly surrender the responsibility vested in me as the sole trustee.

An Indian Colonel in Roumania*

During my recent visit to Roumania I came across in Bucharest a very interesting personality. He is Dr Narsing Mulgund, a Lt.-Col. in the medical department of the Roumanian army. I became so interested in him that I obtained from him the particulars of his early life which I am now writing for the information of my countrymen.

A Maharashtrian by birth, his home was in Taluka Bhuvanagir, sixty mile from Hyderabad city of Deccan. He had his early education in Bombay and after matriculating, he went over to Calcutta.

In Calcutta he joined the Scottish Churches College and studied for the F.A. Examination. Simultaneously, he studied at the National Medical College of Dr S.K. Mullick. Among his teachers at the latter College were Dr S.K. Mullick, Dr Y.M. Bose, Dr B.C. Ghosh and Dr M.D. Das. He duly passed the F.A. Examination from the Scottish Churches College and the M.C.P.S. Examination from the National Medical College. In 1912, he went over to London and took the M.R.C.S. Diploma. About this time the Turko-Balkan War broke out and Dr Mulgund volunteered for service in the Red Crescent Mission in Turkey. There were two medical missions, one led by Dr Ansari and the other by Dr Abdul Hossain and Dr Mulgund joined the latter. He worked for six months as a surgeon with the Turkish army at Shatalja. There he got the Order of Commander of Majidia from the Turkish Government. In the Turko-Balkan War Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria fought against Turkey. This war came to an end soon, but a fresh war broke out in which Serbia and Greece attacked Bulgaria. Roumania also joined in the fray. Since Bulgaria had grabbed a lot of territory from Turkey during the Turko-Balkan War, Turkey took this opportunity of regaining some of her lost territories. When Roumania declared war against Bulgaria, the mission went over to Roumania. In Roumania Dr Mulgund worked in Zimnica, where there was a field-hospital. Cholera then broke out in the Roumanian army and the medical mission proved to be of great assistance. As

* *The Modern Review*, Calcutta: September, 1934, pp. 308–9.

a reward for his services, Dr Mulgund got the Order of Military Virtue from the Roumanian Government. This was in August 1913. At the end of the second Balkan War, the other members of the medical mission returned to India, but Dr Mulgund stayed on. He felt a strong impulse to carve out for himself a career in Roumania.

But who would help him was the problem. Fortunately, about this time Dr Lupu, a well-known politician, and Professor Stanculeanu took a fancy for him. His future career depended on his becoming a naturalized subject. With the help of his two friends and through the strength of his war-services, he was able to become a naturalized subject long before the usual term. Soon after this he obtained a job as an assistant in the Eye-clinic, attached to the University Hospital. He then passed the State Examination in Roumania. After passing his examination he was able to obtain an appointment as a Sub-lieutenant in the medical department of the Roumanian army.

This was in April 1915. On August 15, 1916 Roumania declared war against Germany. In 1917 Dr Mulgund became a Lieutenant and in 1918 a Captain. In 1926 he became a Major and in May 1934 a few days before I came to Bucharest, he became a Lt. Colonel.

Dr Mulgund, or rather Lt. Col. Mulgund, is one of the best Eye-specialists in Roumania. From 1919 to 1922 he was chief of the Eye-Hospital in Oradia and from 1922 to 1928 he was an Eye-specialist, attached to the military hospital in Bucharest. During my stay in Bucharest he was asked by the War Minister to open a new Eye Hospital for the benefit of the army.

Lt. Col. Mulgund married a Roumanian lady and they have two children, both of them girls. They are a happy family. He is quite well known in Bucharest and even before I met him I came to hear of him from several Roumanian friends. During my stay in Bucharest I had the pleasure of spending much of my time with him. From the way he used to be accosted by the Roumanian gentry and by military officers whenever we went out together, one could see that he was not only well-known there, but much esteemed also.

Though he has been away from India and though he is now a

Roumanian subject, he has not forgotten his own language. Besides Marathi, he can speak Hindi fairly well and still retains a fair knowledge of Sanskrit. He is very fond of quoting Sanskrit maxims and verses from the Gita. It was a very great pleasure and honour to meet Lt. Col. Mulgund in Bucharest. And I have no doubt that those of my countrymen who read this, will be equally pleased and interested. Lt. Col. Mulgund lives at Strada Canzasi 14, Bucharest.

A Glimpse of Aden*

On the 13th January, 1935, when M.V. *Victoria* of Lloyd Triestino called at Aden on her way to Europe from Bombay, some Indian residents of Aden arrived on board and invited me to accept their hospitality for a few hours. I did so with great pleasure. When I went ashore in their company, there was an agreeable surprise for me. I had seen Aden last in 1919 on my way to England but what a pleasant contrast! Now there were beautiful roads (probably asphalted), street-lighting with electricity and many imposing buildings to greet the eye. On enquiry I learnt that the population of Aden was over 50,000 and the Indian population over 2,000. The Indian settlers were businessmen and the majority of them hailed from Kathiawar. Aden is a flourishing port and trade-centre and the volume of trade is steadily on the increase. Raw materials like hides, as well as articles like coffee, are brought from the interior and shipped to Europe. Manufactured foods, including textiles, which are symbols of so-called civilization, are imported from Europe and sent into the interior of the Arabian peninsula. The administration is British in personnel in the higher grades. In the lower grades, the employees are partly Arab and partly Indian. At present Aden is under the administration of the Government of India.

The problem that has been worrying the Indian settlers in Aden

* *The Modern Review*, Calcutta: March, 1935, pp. 314–16.

is the proposed separation from India. They are genuinely afraid that their interests will suffer greatly if they are cut off from India and thereby lose the support of public opinion in India. I tried to find out what was at the back of the mind of the authorities in launching this proposal. So far as the Indians were concerned, they were of opinion that the motive was political. The Government wanted to convert Aden into a Colonial possession, so that even if India got Swaraj at some time in the future, Aden would be safe in their hands. Aden and Singapore were the two naval gateways of India and these two gateways were to be kept under full Imperial control. There were some Indian regiments in Aden formerly, but they had been sent back and there were only British troops, numbering about 2,000, left there. There was also a strong contingent of the Royal Air Force stationed at Aden. The territory within a radius of 25 miles from Aden was under British protectorate and beyond that was independent territory.

Besides the strategic importance of Aden as commanding the entrance to the Red Sea, the place is also interesting because of its picturesqueness. Aden is sheltered in the bosom of some rocky hills. The major portion of the town is situated at the foot of the hills but some of the nicest buildings are built high up and there are winding roads, quite modern in construction, leading up to them. Tunnels have been built through some of the hills with a view to improving communications.

Rainfall is very scanty in Aden and hence the acuteness of the problem of drinking water. This problem was solved by the Arabs long long ago in a clever way. The rain falling on the hills used to be collected in a huge stony reservoir constructed out of natural rocks at the foot of the hills and throughout the year, water used to be drawn from the reservoir for drinking purposes. Besides this supply of water, there were very deep wells, of the same sort that one would find in Indian villages. The day we reached Aden, there had been a heavy shower and the reservoir was full.

I was glad to find that the Indians in Aden were keenly following events at home. They asked me for the latest information. At the group meeting—after giving me all the information I wanted about Aden—they requested me to speak on the Congress programme. I

delivered a short address on the constructive programme adopted at the Bombay Congress and on the khadi movement in India. The meeting over, light refreshments were served and I was then driven round the town. A pleasant farewell ceremony took place at the jetty and I then returned to my boat M.V. *Victoria*. By midnight we were once again on the high seas.

It would encourage the Indians in Aden greatly if prominent Indians take the trouble of landing at Aden and meeting their fellow-countrymen there. They remembered gratefully the visits paid them by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. There is also considerable room for cultural propaganda among Indians there and any Indians visiting Aden for that purpose are sure to be warmly welcomed. At present Pandit Kanahya Lal Misra of Benares is engaged in that work there, but he is to leave soon.

It is the desire of Indians in Aden that there should be a strong agitation in India against the proposed separation. Whatever may ultimately happen, there is no doubt that public opinion in India on this question should make itself heard without delay.

Italy

To *Amrita Bazar Patrika* *9 March 1935*

I landed in Naples on the 20th January feeling that I had seen enough of the sea and I might as well take the train from Naples. To my surprise, before I could disembark from the boat, I was seized by Press representatives and cameramen. I was, however, glad to find that India had begun to interest at least some people in Europe.

I spent nearly three days in Naples. They say here in Europe—'see Naples and die'—meaning thereby that Naples is so enchanting that one should not die before seeing Naples. To say that, is by no means an exaggeration. Situated on a hill, commanding a wonderful

view of the sea, and facing the mighty and ever-smoking Vesuvius—Naples is a beauty spot. In some ways, it is even more pretty than the Riviera. The strand running along the sea-beach—called 'Via Partenope'—affords one of the finest walks that one could desire. I paid a visit to Pompeii, the city once smothered with Vesuvian lava—but now fully excavated. One can see the city as it stood about 2,000 years ago, without of course, the inhabitants. The excavation of the city has been almost faultless.

From Naples I came to Rome and spent about a week there, though my original intention was to halt for only 2 or 3 days. There is so much to see and do in Rome that time flies. For me, Rome has a fascination because it is a blend of the old and the new. When you visit the Colosseum or the Forum or the Roman Pantheon or the Catacombs, you seem to live in Ancient Rome—the Rome with which we in India are familiar through History. But when you drive through the newly constructed streets of Rome, or gaze at the monument of Victor Emmanuel, you come back to modern Rome, which Signor Mussolini desires should be the symbol of resurrected Italy. And he has taken special pains and spent enormous sums of money to make Rome modern in every sense and worthy of being the capital of a front-rank European power.

Last year when I visited Rome I had devoted much time to sight-seeing as well as to a study of the municipal administration of the city. This time, I tried to study something of the work of the Fascist Party and how it was working in co-operation with the Government for the uplift of the nation. I was given all the facilities for going round the party offices, examining the party administration and organization and putting innumerable questions to party officials for eliciting the sort of information that I wanted. It is not possible in the course of one letter to give one's impressions of the working of the Party machinery. I can only refer to the impression that has been uppermost in my mind. I could see and feel that the Fascist Party was out to create a new nation according to its ideas and ideals. The Party takes charge of every individual in the state, regardless of age or sex. No individual is isolated from the state and it is the function of the Party to train citizens for the state.

You will be interested to know that my book *The Indian Struggle*

is already out. I have seen a copy in Rome and the get-up is quite good. During my short stay in Rome, I had an interview with Signor Mussolini. I presented him with a copy of the book. He was glad to receive it and said that he would make time to read it. The Italian Papers headed by *Giornale d'Italia*, the leading paper of Italy, interviewed me regarding the latest situation in India and the Indian reaction to the constitutional Bill now being discussed in London. The papers are all going to review my book.

There was another interesting experience I had in Rome—namely, my interview with ex-king Amanullah of Afghanistan. His majesty received me with the utmost cordiality and we had a long talk. He wanted to know the latest news about Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian National Congress and the political situation in India. He condemned Communism strongly, and upheld the cause of Nationalism. I found that His Majesty's whole heart was with his people. He did not care what happened to him as long as his people were prosperous and happy. He was optimistic about the ultimate future of Afghanistan. He conveyed his warmest wishes for the welfare of the Indian people. He impressed me profoundly as being truly a patriotic king.

Passing Through Cairo*

There are few cities so fascinating as Cairo, the capital of Modern Egypt. Nursed by the Nile and guarded by the towering Pyramids, this city with its pleasing climate, luxuriant vegetation, lovely streets and picturesque buildings has an unceasing attraction for the foreigner. But how few of those who repeatedly pass in and out of the Suez Canal have been to Cairo!

Thanks to the arrangements made by the Lloyd Triestino Company, we could leave M.V. Victoria at Suez, drive by car to Cairo, spend a useful day there and catch the boat again at Port Said. By

* *The Modern Review*, Calcutta: April, 1935, pp. 426–31.

9 p.m. on the 16th January, 1935, we were at Suez. The ship anchored at a great distance from the shore and we had to cross over in a ferry. It was a moonlit night. The vast expanse of water was brightened by the rays of the silvery moon. All around of us were gleaming the lights of the town of Suez and of Port Tewfik with their starry reflection dancing in the bosom of the sea. Passing the customs barrier, we got into the car which was to carry us to Cairo. Soon the town was past and we were in the heart of the desert, rushing northwards. A companion of ours was expecting some adventure at the hands of desert Bedoins, but he was disappointed. There was peace all along the way—endless sand on both sides—the road running straight ahead and the pale moon shedding its lustre from the canopy of heaven. It was past midnight when we reached Cairo. In the stillness of the night, the brilliantly lighted streets of Cairo with their stately buildings looked enchanting.

The next morning we made our trip to the Pyramids. The air was cold and a biting wind was blowing as we crossed the Nile and rushed to where the world-famous Pyramids were silhouetted against the morning sky. Soon we arrived at their foot and began to gaze upwards. So these were the monuments of stone that had fired the imagination of even a soldier like Napoleon! The French Emperor had drawn up his troops near them and had stirred up their tired limbs by reminding them that 5000 years were looking down upon them. The appeal had worked like magic and the Mamelukes had been scattered like dust before the wind. Round the Pyramids we walked and in and out of the several excavations, wondering all the time what the Pyramids had to teach us. Yes, we also could feel an inspiration. Standing before those towering giants against the background of the endless and dreary desert, one could realize the majesty of man and the immortality of the soul. The authors of those edifices had defied time. They had enshrined themselves in stone and whoever had any inwardness of perception, could hold communion with them.

Near the Pyramids was the Sphinx with its eternal riddle. One massive work of stone, the searching eyes gazing at the rising sun-what idea did the Sphinx embody? One of the guides ventured an explanation. The Ancient Egyptians worshipped the Sun God

and the Sphinx was either a symbol of the Sun or a representative of Sun-worship. But who knew? The soul that had built the Sphinx did not speak and the riddle remained unsolved. A little bird was sitting motionless on the head of the Sphinx. 'That is the soul of the Sphinx' said a guide, to tickle our phantasy, 'that comes every morning to greet him.' Looking more closely at the face of the Sphinx, we found that the nose had been blown off. That was another problem, we thought. But the guides were not to be daunted. 'It was a cannon-ball of the Emperor Napoleon that did the havoc,' said one of them. Connecting Napoleon with the Pyramids, we were prepared to be convinced. But another guide protested. 'It was the Arab iconoclasts who had done it,' he said, 'to spite the ancient Egyptians.'

We left the Sphinx more puzzled than ever and turned to the Pyramids. 'Do you want to climb to the top of the Pyramids?' asked our guide. 'No, thank you, time is against us' was the reply. 'There is a man who can run up to the top and descend in eight minutes, Sir,' he continued. Thinking that it was a further trick for emptying our pockets, we declined, saying that that did not interest us. Instead, we sought to explore the interior of the biggest of the Pyramids. That was no difficult task. The narrow passage leading up to the big hall in the heart of the Pyramid was lighted with electricity. Only our backs were aching at the time we reached the hall—the effect of continuous bending while we were climbing the steps. The total height of the Pyramid was more than 450 feet and the hall was situated almost half-way. The mummies of the ancient kings used to be stored here, but the hall was now empty the mummies having been removed to the museums. There was another and smaller hall at a lower level, where the mummies of the queens used to be stored.

The Pyramids of Geza, where there is the Sphinx, are about nine miles from Cairo. There are nine Pyramids in all, three big and six small ones. The big ones are in perfect condition—only the alabaster coating having come off at many places. There is another group of Pyramids at a greater distance from Cairo, about twenty miles, near the ancient city of Memphis, and some statues of the ancient Egyptian kings are to be found there.

No less interesting than the Pyramids is the Museum of Antiquities in Cairo which is a store house of all the finds in different parts of Egypt. Within this Museum the most interesting section is that which contains the finds of the tomb of Tutankhamen at Luxor in Upper Egypt. It is not possible to describe the treasures from Luxor that have been stored in the Museum nor is it possible to do justice to them in the course of one or two visits. At every step, one is left wondering at the high level of art and civilization which the ancient Egyptians attained at a period which must be at least as old as 2000 BC. The works of art look as fresh as if they had been constructed only yesterday and apart from the excellence of their workmanship, what simply appals the imagination of man is how they have been so effectively preserved as to defy the ravages of time. As compared with Egypt, India also can boast of a very ancient culture and civilization, but one must admit that we have not been able to preserve what we constructed, owing to our comparative inefficiency in the art of preservation. Moreover, I do not think that we developed the material side of life—the arts and crafts—as much as the ancient Egyptians did. Our emphasis was not on civilization, but on culture; not on the material side of life but on the intellectual and spiritual. Therein, we had our advantages as well as disadvantages. Owing to our superior thought-power, we could hold our own against invaders from outside even when we were vanquished physically for the time being—and in course of time we could also absorb the outsider, while the ancient Egyptian went down before the Arab invaders and disappeared altogether. On the other hand, emphasis on the intellectual and spiritual side, caused us to neglect the development of science and left us comparatively weak on the material and physical side of life. The glorious periods of our history were when we were able to strike the golden mean between the demands of spirit and of matter; of the soul and of the body—and thereby progress simultaneously on both fronts. Owing to the interrelation between the soul and the body, the neglect of the body not only weakens a nation physically—but in the long run, weakens it spiritually as well. India at the present moment appears to be suffering not merely from physical weakness but from spiritual exhaustion as well—the inevitable result

of our neglecting one aspect of life. And if we are to come to our own once again, we have to advance simultaneously on both fronts.

To return to our narrative. The morning excursions over, we devoted the afternoon to sight-seeing within the city. Cairo is full of mosques and tombs and much of ancient history lies embedded therein. Each mosque has its own beauty and its own story to tell. Sometimes one is brought face to face with scenes of biblical interest as well, but how far they are real, one cannot tell. For instance, inside the big Citadel (the oldest fort of Cairo), the guide showed me a very deep well, which he said was the well of Joseph. One of the most interesting spots in Cairo is the Citadel from where one can have a magnificent view of the whole city of Cairo. The Palace of Mohammed Ali from where this view is obtained is unfortunately in a neglected condition now. The guide showed us the room where Mohammed Ali is supposed to have invited the Mamelukes to dinner and afterwards taken them unawares and massacred them, only one of the Mamelukes escaping with his life. Outside this Palace, is the mosque of Mohammed Ali which fortunately is now being renovated at considerable cost. The mosque of Sultan Hassan, the Blue Mosque, the tomb of the Mamelukes, the Al Azhar University—are some of the other places of interest which draw the foreigner.

Having seen something of old Egypt, our thoughts naturally turned to Modern Egypt. Modern Cairo was a fine city and one could not but admire it. But the modern Palace of the King was by no means an imposing structure. Even the barracks of the British troops looked more attractive. Egypt, we were told, had a King but a rude reminder came when we eyed the Union Jack proudly floating in the wind on the top of the British barracks in the heart of the town and also in the Citadel. Independence indeed!

But what about the people of Modern Egypt? I had heard of the Nationalist Party of Egypt—called the Wafd Party which was once so brilliantly led by Syed Zagloul Pasha of revered memory, who has left an able successor in Moustapha El-Nahas Pasha. A visit to Cairo would of course be meaningless without an interview with the great Nationalist leader. The time at my disposal was short, but I was lucky enough to have the desired interview. Moustapha

El-Nahas Pasha was accompanied by two of his ablest colleagues, Mr M.F. Nokrashy and Mr Makram Ebeid, when I met him. We had a very interesting talk. I was anxious to know something about Egypt at first hand—while they were anxious to know about India. I was glad to learn that under the Premiership of Nessim Pasha, the rule of ordinance had ended in Egypt. The Nationalists could once again breathe freely. On the 8th and 9th January, 1935, they had a Congress of the Wafd Party in Cairo attended by over 30,000 people which had proved to be an unparalleled success. Elections to the Parliament were expected to be held shortly and Wafd Party was confident of sweeping the polls. Altogether, the situation looked very hopeful for the Nationalists and the leaders were in high spirits.

Turning to India, Moustapha El-Nahas Pasha first enquired about the health of Mahatma Gandhi. He said that when the Mahatma was returning to India in 1931, he had sent his Secretary to Port Said to invite him to Cairo and he had arranged a meeting in his own house of the prominent members of his Party. But unfortunately the Mahatma could not come. Our talk next turned to the Hindu-Moslem question and Moustapha condemned the action of those communalists who were acting against the best interests of Indian Nationalism. He enquired one by one, as to who among the Moslem leaders were working with the Nationalist Party and who were on the side of the Government. He said that in Egypt, the Egyptian Moslems had come to a perfect understanding with the Egyptian Christians (called Copts) and both the communities were working hand in hand for the uplift of Egypt. He hoped that before long the same thing would happen in India. In conclusion, I assured the Moustapha that we Indians were following the fortunes of the Egyptian people with the greatest interest and our whole-hearted sympathy was with them in their struggle for freedom. In return, he conveyed the warmest sympathy of the Egyptian people for the Indians in their National fight for freedom.

There are four principal questions which form the bone of contention between the Egyptians and the British. Firstly, the British army of occupation; secondly, the existence of European tribunals which alone can try Europeans in Egypt; thirdly, the control over the Suez Canal and last but not least, the demand for

the inclusion of Sudan within Egypt. When Moustapha El-Nahas Pasha was the Prime Minister and there was a Labour Cabinet in England a few years ago, negotiations for a compromise were carried on. An understanding was reached on most of the questions but ultimately there was a deadlock on the question of the Sudan. When the Labour Cabinet was turned out of office, the whole atmosphere changed. Recently there has been an improvement in the atmosphere since Sir Miles Lock Hampson, of China fame, became the High Commissioner in Egypt.

After a busy day spent in Cairo, we left by train for Port Said to catch our boat there. In the train we had several Egyptian fellow-passengers and as some of them spoke English (French is, on the whole, more popular in Egypt than English), we soon fell into a conversation. We wanted to find out how the man in the street looked upon the nationalist Wafd Party. One of the passengers—a Copt who was a Government servant, was at first chary of committing himself. But when he found that we were dependable, he became more frank. He spoke very highly of the Egyptian leaders and said, among other things, that all Egyptians, whether Moslems or Christians, wore the Tarboosh or Fez Cap, because it was the National headdress of the Egyptian people. (Till then I had always regarded the Fez Cap as a symbol of Islam).

By 11 p.m. we were on board our ship. Within an hour she set sail. At the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, we passed the statue of the French Engineer, Lesseps who had constructed the Suez Canal and we were soon on the high seas. The lights of Port Said grew dimmer and dimmer as the waves began to grow in volume. When morning dawned, the ship was rolling and most of us were sick.

Practical Training Abroad for Indian Students

Question of Bilateral Trade Agreements

Karlsbad (By Airmail, August 1935 to the United Press):

Since the last war a large number of Indian students have been coming to Europe—and especially Germany—for postgraduate studies and practical training in factories. While the British factories have been raising all sorts of objections in receiving Indian apprentices, the German factories, until quite recently, have been welcoming them with open arms. A large number of Indians have accordingly been trained in German Universities and factories since 1920 and they have gone back home to popularise Germany in our country. Unfortunately the advent of the new regime in Germany has slowly brought about a change for the worse so far as Indian students are concerned. When I visited Germany for the first time in 1933, complaints were brought to my notice that Indians were finding it difficult to find admission in German factories. These complaints have been increasing in number with the lapse of time. I shall give a few typical instances. An Indian student who has taken his doctorate in a German University with Pharmaceutical Chemistry as one of his principal subjects, finds in impossible to get into a German factory for practical training. Another student who has taken his doctorate in a German University in Industrial Chemistry, has been unable to secure admission into a German factory for learning coal-tar distillation. Another promising student who is completing his course in Engineering has been refused practical training by all the big factories including Siemens and Halske. Another student of Engineering who wants to get training in a textile mill in spinning has been refused admission everywhere and has ultimately been offered admission by a Polish textile factory in Lodz.

Worsening Situation

I now ask the leaders of the Indian people and of Indian industry,

if we are to accept the above worsening situation with folded hands or try to remedy the present state of affairs. I am giving my own opinion in the light of what other countries have been doing under similar circumstances.

At the outset I must say that at the present moment, German factories have not the freedom to admit foreign students as apprentices at their own discretion. Every case has to be sent up for decision by a Board appointed by the German Government of which Dr Sebacht is the President.

Countries like Turkey, china, Persia, etc., when they place any substantial orders with foreign firms, always make it a condition that a certain number of their nationals must be trained in those factories. This condition is invariably accepted by foreign firms, including the German. India, however, is the only country in the world which buys substantially from abroad but imposes no conditions. For this state of things, both the Indian Government and the Indian leaders are responsible.

Alternative Remedies

The question now arises, what is the remedy? I shall suggest some alternative remedies which are practicable. In the first place, members of the Legislative Assembly should ask the Government of India to approach the Governments of all the countries from which India buys substantially to give facilities for practical training to Indian students. If this move fails or if the Government of India refuses to act, the Indian Chamber of Commerce should make a direct representation to the Chambers of Commerce in all such countries to the same effect. If this step is not taken or if it proves ineffective when taken, the Indian National Congress should make a representation to all such countries through its own representative (or representatives). If this step also is not taken or if it proves ineffective—all Indian industrialists who place orders abroad, should see to it that when they place any orders with foreign firms they make a condition that a certain number of Indians should be trained in those factories.

The most effective course is for the Government of India to act.

But will they act? Let our Assembly representatives try. If they fail, it does not matter. I know from personal experience that in all these continental countries, the Chamber of Commerce wields great influence over the Government and over the industries as well. If the Chamber of Commerce of a particular country is approached by the Indian Chamber of Commerce in a serious manner, they are bound to respond—if not out of sympathy, at least out of fear that they may lose their trade with India. Therefore, if the move taken by the Assembly fails, the Indian Chamber of Commerce should take up the question. A third alternative is for the Indian National Congress to take up this matter. I know from personal experience that in many countries, the Congress enjoys great prestige and people realise that it represents the future Government of India. Consequently, if a representation is made by the Congress, it is bound to have a favourable effect in many quarters. People in many countries know that the Congress is in a position to declare boycott of goods coming from countries where Indians are not treated properly. Lastly, individual industrialists, when they buy machinery in any country can insist that a certain number of Indian students should be trained in their factories. I know a few Indian students who have been able to secure admission into continental factories through the patriotic help of some Indian industrialists who have made a strong demand to that effect. I also know of some Indian industrial magnates of the front rank who were in a position to help Indian students in this manner but who refused to do so. And the self-same industrial magnates want us to buy their goods on patriotic grounds when they manufacture them.

It is impossible and desirable to try all the above four remedies simultaneously. The position of Indian students seeking practical training in Germany is becoming more and more difficult every day and immediate steps are necessary.

Contact with Other Countries

Ever since I related the coming difficulty in Germany in 1933, I have been trying to develop contacts in other countries, so that if Germany ultimately shuts her doors on Indian apprentices, they

may not be stranded altogether. I am glad to say that there are openings for Indians in other countries and these could be developed further. If we work with a definite plan and purpose, Czechoslovakian firms like Skoda will gladly welcome Indian apprentices. Italian firms like Marelli and Pirelli offer similar facilities. Polish textile factories in Lodz can also be of help. It goes without saying, of course, that we shall have to transfer our patronage to those countries that offer facilities to our young men in the matter of practical training.

Industrial Development

It will be admitted on all hands that for the industrial development of India we need not only capital, labour and state-aid but also technical experts. Capital, Labour and State-aid will be forthcoming without much difficulty—the moment we have political power. But the training of experts takes a long period of time. The experience of Russia since 1917 teaches us that we should turn our serious attention to this problem from today—if we want to avoid surrendering helplessly to foreign experts. When the Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement was being negotiated in Delhi, there was a stipulation about the purchase of our raw cotton by Japan—but there was not a word about the training of our apprentices in Japanese textile factories.

This brings us to the question of bilateral trade agreements. It is high time that we had entered into bilateral trade agreements with countries like Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, U.S.A., following the example of the Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement. Such agreements are absolutely necessary for our economic regeneration and for maintaining a proper trade balance. Why should countries like Germany sell to India much more than they buy from her? On the contrary, why should we buy so little from countries like Czechoslovakia that buy so much from us.

Trade Agreements

Besides entering into Trade Agreements with individual countries,

it is necessary for our businessmen to come into close contact with businessmen in other countries. This object is fulfilled in other countries by establishing mixed organisations and mixed Chambers of Commerce. Thus if we want to develop close contact with Czechoslovakia, we should establish in India an Indo-Czechoslovakian Society and an Indo-Czechoslovakian Chamber of Commerce. There should be similar organisations for other countries in which we are interested. Organisations have already been started on these lines in Prague, Vienna and Rome. It is necessary that there should be corresponding organisations in India for developing contact with these countries and that there should be mixed Chambers of Commerce in India and in European.

What Romain Rolland Thinks*

Wednesday, the 3rd April, 1935. It was a bright sunny morning and Geneva was looking at its best. In the distance, silhouetted against the clear blue sky, stood the snow-capped heights of Saleve. In front of us there lay the picturesque lake of Geneva with the stately buildings mirrored in its glassy bosom. I was out on a pilgrimage. Ever since I had landed in Europe, two years ago, I had been longing to meet that great man and thinker—and, great friend of India and of India's culture—Mon. Romain Rolland. Circumstances had prevented our meeting in 1933 and again in 1934, but the third attempt was going to succeed. I was in high spirits, but occasionally a thrill of anxiety and doubt passed within me. Would I be inspired by this man or would I return disappointed? Would this dreamer and idealist appreciate the hard facts of life—the practical difficulties that beset the path of the fighter in every age and clime? Above all, would he read what fate had written on the walls of Indian history?

* *The Modern Review*, Calcutta: September, 1935, pp. 319–24.
This article has been revised by Mon. Romain Rolland.

What heartened me, however, were the inspiring words in his letter of the 22nd February . . . 'But we men of thought must each of us fight against the temptation that befalls us in moments of fatigue and unsettledness, of repairing to a world beyond the battle called either God or Art or Freedom of the Spirit or those distant regions of the mystic soul. For fight we must, as our duty lies on this side of the ocean—on the battleground of men.'

For full two hours we drove along the circuitous route which skirts the lake of Geneva. It was charming weather and while we raced along the Swiss Riviera we enjoyed one of the finest sceneries in Switzerland. As we came to Villeneuve, the car slowed down and ultimately came to a standstill in front of Villa Olga, the residence of the French savant. That was indeed a beauty spot. Sheltered by an encircling row of hills, the house commanded a magnificent view of the lake. All around us there was peace, beauty and grandeur. It was indeed a fit place for a hermitage.

As I rang the bell, the door was opened by a lady of short stature but with an exceedingly sympathetic and lively face. This was Madame Romain Rolland. Hardly had she greeted me than another door opened in front of us and there emerged a tall figure with a pale countenance and with wonderful penetrating eyes. Yes, this was the face I had seen in many a picture before, a face that seemed to be burdened with the sorrows of humanity. There was something exquisitely sad in that pallid face—but it was not an expression of defeatism. For no sooner did he begin to speak than colour rushed to his white cheeks—the eyes glowed with a light that was uncommon—and the words that he poured forth were pregnant with life and hope.

The usual greetings and the preliminary enquiries about India and Indian friends were soon over and we dropped into a serious conversation. Mon. Rolland could not—or did not—speak English and I could not speak French. So we had as interpreters Mademoiselle Rolland and Madame Rolland. My purpose was to discuss with him the latest developments in the Indian situation and to ascertain his present views on the important problems before the world. I had therefore to do much of the talking at first in order to explain the Indian situation as I analysed and comprehended it.

The two cardinal principles on which the movement of the last 14 years had been based were—firstly, Satyagraha or non-violent resistance and secondly, a united front of all sections of the Indian people, *e.g.*, capital and labour and landlord and peasant. India's great hope was that the Satyagraha movement would fructify in a peaceful settlement in the following manner. Within India, the movement would gradually paralyse the civil administration of the country. Outside India, the lofty ethics of Satyagraha would stir the conscience of the British people. Thus would the conflict lead to a settlement whereby India would win her freedom without striking a blow and without shedding any blood. But that hope was frustrated. Within India, the Satyagraha movement no doubt created a non- violent revolution, but the higher services, both civil and military, remain unaffected and the 'King's Government' therefore went on much as usual. Outside India, a handful of high-minded Britishers were no doubt inspired by the ethics of Gandhi, but the British people as a whole remained quite indifferent; self-interest drowned the ethical appeal.

The failure to win freedom led to a very earnest heart-searching among the rank and file of the Indian National Congress. One section of Congress men went back to the old policy of constitutional action within the Legislatures. Mahatma Gandhi and his orthodox followers, after the suspension of the civil disobedience movement (or Satyagraha) turned to a programme of social and economic uplift of the villages. But the more radical section, in their disappointment, inclined to a new ideology and plan of action and the majority of them combined to form the Congress Socialist Party.

'What would be Mon. Rolland's attitude,' I asked at the end of my lengthy preface, 'if the united front is broken up and a new movement is started not quite in keeping with the requirements of Gandhian Satyagraha?'

He would be very sorry and disappointed, said Mon. Rolland, if Gandhi's Satyagraha failed to win freedom for India. At the end of the Great War, when the whole world was sick of bloody strife and hatred, a new light had dawned on the horizon when Gandhi

emerged with his new weapon of political strife. Great were the hopes that Gandhi had roused throughout the whole world.

'We find from experience', said I, 'that Gandhi's method is too lofty for this materialistic world and, as a political leader, he is too straight-forward in his dealings with his opponents. We find, further, that though the British are not wanted in India, with the help of superior physical force, they have nevertheless been able to maintain their existence in India in spite of the inconvenience and annoyance caused by the Satyagraha movement. If Satyagraha ultimately fails, would Mon. Rolland like to see the national endeavour continued by other methods or would he cease taking interest in the Indian movement?'

'The struggle must go on in any case'—was the emphatic reply.

'But I know several European friends of India who have told me distinctly that their interest in the Indian freedom movement is due entirely to Gandhi's method of non-violent resistance.'

Mon. Rolland did not agree with them at all. He would be sorry, if Satyagraha failed. But if it really did, then the hard facts of life would have to be faced and he would like to see the movement conducted on other lines.

That was the answer nearest to my heart. Here then was an idealist, who did not build castles in the air but who had his feet planted on terra firma.

'There are people in Europe,' I said, 'who say that just as in Russia there were two successive revolutions—a bourgeois democratic revolution and a socialist revolution—so also in India there will be two successive revolutions—a national-democratic revolution and a social revolution. In my opinion, however, the fight for political freedom will have to be conducted simultaneously with the fight for socio-economic emancipation. The party that will bring political freedom to India will be the party that will also put into effect the entire programme of socio-economic reconstruction. What is Mon. Rolland's opinion on the point?'

He found it difficult to express a definite opinion because he was not aware of all the facts of the Indian situation.

'What would be Mon. Rolland's attitude,' I continued, 'if the united front policy of the Indian National Congress fails to win

freedom for India and a radical party emerges which identifies itself with the interests of the peasants and the workers?'

Mon. Rolland was clearly of opinion that the time had come for the Congress to take a definite stand on the economic issues. 'I have already written to Gandhi,' said he, 'that he should make up his mind on this question.'

Explaining his attitude in the event of a schism within the Indian National Congress, he continued, 'I am not interested in choosing between two political parties or between two? What is of interest and of value to me is a higher question. To me, political parties do not count; what really counts is the great cause that transcends them—the cause of the workers of the world. To be more explicit, if as a result of unfortunate circumstances, Gandhi (or any party, for the matter of that) should be in conflict with the cause of the workers and with their necessary evolution towards a socialistic organization—if Gandhi (or any party) should turn away and stand aloof from the workers' cause, then for ever will I side with the oppressed workers—for ever will I participate in their efforts, because on their side is justice and the law of the real and necessary development of human society.'

I was delighted and amazed. Even in my most optimistic moods, I had never expected this great thinker to come out so openly and boldly in support of the workers' cause.

The strain resulting from our animated conversation was great and I felt anxious for the delicate health of my host. However, a relief came when tea was announced and we all moved into the adjoining room.

Over cups of tea our conversation went on uninterrupted. Many were the problems that we rushed through in our two and a half hours' discussion. Mon. Rolland was greatly interested in the Congress Socialist Party and its composition. His concern for the continued incarceration of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other politicals was profound. His interest in all the actions, speeches and writings of the Mahatma was astonishing. For instance, he pulled out from his old files a statement of the Mahatma in which he had expressed his sympathy for socialism. We talked at length of Mahatma Gandhi and his tactics. I ventured the remark that the Mahatma would not

take a definite stand on the economic issues. Whether on political or social or economic questions, he was temperamentally a believer in 'the golden mean'. I then referred to what the younger generation regarded as some of the defects in his leadership and tactics, namely, his incorrigible habit of putting all his cards on the table, his opposition to the policy of social boycott of political opponents, his hope of a change of heart on the part of the British Government, etc. It did not afford us any satisfaction, I said, to oppose him or even criticize him—when he had done more for his country than any one else in recent history and had raised India considerably in the estimation of the whole world. But we loved our country more than any personality.

I asked Mon. Rolland if he would be good enough to put in a nutshell the main principles for which he had stood and fought all his life. 'Those fundamental principles,' he said, 'are (1) Internationalism (including equal rights for all races without distinction), (2) Justice for the exploited workers—implying thereby that we should fight for a society in which there will be no exploiters and no exploited—but all will be workers for the entire community, (3) Freedom for all suppressed nationalities and (4) Equal rights for women as for men.' And he proceeded to amplify some of these points.

As our conversation was drawing to a close, I remarked that the views he had expressed that afternoon, would cause surprise in many quarters, since they appeared to be a recent development in his thought-life. This remark worked like an electric button and set in motion a whole train of thought. Mon. Rolland spoke of the acute mental agony he had passed through since the end of the War in trying to revise his social ideas and his entire ideology. 'This combat within myself,' he said, 'extended over a very wide field and the problem of non-violence was only a part of it. I have not decided against non-violence, but I have decided that non-violence cannot be the central pivot of our entire social activity. It can be one of its means—one of its proposed forms, still subject to experiment.' Continuing he said, 'The primary objective of all our endeavours should be the establishment of another social order, more just and more human * * * * * * * * If we do not do so, it will mean the

end of society.' Then referring to the methods of activity, he said, '* * * * * * My own task has been for several years to try and unite the forces * * * * * * against the old order that is enslaving and exploiting humanity. This has been my role in the World's Congress of all political parties against War and Fascism, which was held in Amsterdam in 1932 and in the permanent Committees appointed by that Congress. I still believe that there is in non-violence a strong though latent revolutionary power which can and ought to be used, * * * '

I interrupted him at this stage to ask him how the world at large could know of his present ideas. To this he replied, 'My social creed of these fifteen years has been expounded in two volumes of articles which have been just published. In the first one "Quinze ans de Combat" (Fifteen Years of Combat), Editions Rieder, Boulevard St. Germain 108, Paris VI—I have spoken of my inner fight and the evolution of my social ideas. In the second book "Par la Revolution La Paix (By Wars of Revolution to Peace) Editions Sociales Internationales, 24, Rue Racini, Paris VI, I have dealt with questions concerning war, peace, non-violence, * * * and the coordination of their efforts in fighting the old social order." Continuing he said that some of his friends had refused to recognize all that he had written, preferring to accept only those portions with which they agreed. These two volumes[1] would, however, be a faithful record of the evolution of his thought.

Our conversation did not end without a discussion of the much-apprehended and much-talked-of war in Europe. "For suppressed peoples and nationalities", I remarked, "war is not an unmixed evil." 'But for Europe war will be the greatest disaster,' said he; 'It may even mean the end of civilization. And for Russia, peace is absolutely necessary if she is to complete her programme of social reconstruction.'

Before I took leave of my host, I expressed by deep gratitude for his kindness and my great satisfaction at what he had conveyed to me. I valued so greatly his sympathy for India and her cause that

[1] I have just received a present of these two books from the author. What a pity I cannot read them in the original! I feel like learning French if only for the sake of reading these books.

it had filled my with anxiety and fear whenever I had tried to imagine what his reaction would be towards the latest developments in the Indian situation.

The sun was still shining on the blue water of the lake of Geneva as I emerged out of Villa Olga. Around me there stood the snow-covered mountains. The air was pregnant with joy and it infected me. A heavy load had been lifted off my mind. I felt convinced that this great thinker and artist would stand for India and her freedom whatever might be her immediate future or her future line of action. And with that conviction I returned to Geneva a happy man.

Karlsbad
2.7.'35

Editor's Note: In order to comply with the requirements of the press laws in force in India, so far as it is possible for us to understand them, we have omitted certain portions of this article, indicated by asterisks.

The Secret of Abyssinia and its Lesson*

The fate of Abyssinia is now in the melting-pot. The outlook for her is exceedingly gloomy. But whatever happens in that part of Africa, the lesson of Abyssinia will remain as a legacy for humanity.

What is that Lesson?

It is this that in the 20th century a nation can hope to be free only if it is strong, from a physical and military point of view, and is able to acquire all the knowledge which modern science can impart.

The Orient has succumbed bit by bit to the physical encroachment of the Occident, because it has wrapped itself up in self-complacency and lived in divine (?) contentment for some centuries

* Published in *Modern Review*, November 1935.

and because it has refused to keep abreast of the march of human and scientific progress, especially in the art of warfare. India and Burma, along with other Oriental countries, have suffered for this reason. Countries like Japan, Turkey and Persia are still alive because they were able to modernize themselves in time.

Like the rest of the Orient, Japan too, at one time, wanted to live in peaceful isolation. But the booming of American cannon burst upon her ears as a mighty challenge. She would either have to enter the arena of world-economics and world-politics as a strong and modernized nation or go down before the West. She chose the former alternative, bestirred herself in time and during the space of 50 years, emerged as a strong and modernized nation. By the time that a serious challenge to her independent existence came from a Western power, she was prepared. And her timely preparation saved her. In this hard world, only the fittest can survive.

Abyssinia is not a new problem. During the latter half of the 19th century, the imperialist nations of Europe—Britain, France and Italy—began to cast their eyes on her. All of them tried to grab that potentially rich country—but were baffled not only by the brave and warlike inhabitants but also by the mountainous and impassable nature of the country. One cannot forget the abortive military exploits of Lord Napier of Magdala in Abyssinia (Magdala is situated in the heart of Abyssinia) or the overthrow of Emperor Theodore by the British in 1868. Failing to partition Abyssinia among themselves—as the rest of Africa had been partitioned—they took possession of all the surrounding tracts, cutting off Abyssinia from the sea. Thus a reference to the map will show that Abyssinia is surrounded by Sudan (British), Kenya (British), Italian Somaliland, British Somaliland, French Somaliland and Eritrea (Italian).

The liberation and unification of Italy took place in 1861—rather late in the day—while the unification of Germany took place in 1870. By that time the available colonial world had been practically divided up by the other imperialist European powers. Hence we find that among the imperialist have-nots, are Italy and Germany. Germany, under Bismarck, looked forward to some territories in south-west Africa—while Italy cast her eyes on Abyssinia and her surroundings.

Italian penetration of Africa began in the eighties of the last century, when Abyssinia was not unified. The Northern part was ruled over by Emperor John and the Southern part by Emperor Menelik, while some other parts were virtually independent. The population of Abyssinia at that time was anything but homogeneous, either from the ethnic or from the religious point of view. The death of Emperor John in 1889 during a war with the Dervish rebels, paved the way for the unification of Abyssinia under Emperor Menelik. Menelik who was crowned as 'Negus Nagast' (King of Kings) was great as a soldier and as a statesman. Under his leadership the great fight with the Italians took place, culminating in the complete annihilation of the Italian forces at Adowa in 1896. Since then Adowa has been remembered by the Italians as a defeat which has to be avenged.

Since 1896, Abyssinia has had a respite for nearly 40 years. If she had been able to strengthen and modernize her people within this period—as the Japanese did—then she would probably have survived. But she has unfortunately failed to do so and hence she is doomed. The fault does not lie with the supreme rulers of Abyssinia, who have been patriotic, able and statesmanlike, but with the population. The present Emperor, for example, has shown proofs of wonderful diplomacy and statesmanship throughout the present crisis—such as one would expect in a first-class British politician. But dynastic and tribal jealousies unfortunately exist (the desertion of the Emperor's son-in-law, who is a descendant of Emperor John, to the Italians which was announced in the press on the 12th October, is an example of dynastic jealousy). The people are mostly illiterate and slavery still exists as an institution. Last but not least, the glorious victory of Adowa has lulled the brave Abyssinians into a false sense of security. This sense of security will prove to be their ruin on the field of battle where they will realize only too late that the Italians of 1935 are not the Italians of 1896 and that the art of warfare has advanced with rapid strides since they overthrew the Italians at Adowa.

Having failed to subjugate Abyssinia by force of arms, the imperialist powers commenced diplomatic intrigue from the beginning of this century. The story is told by *New Leader* of London

in its issue of the 23rd August, 1935. (To annotate this story I shall only add that Abyssinia was admitted into the League of Nations in September, 1923, in spite of the objection of the British Government).

Partition Planned

'Before this Britain had recognized Abyssinia as an Italian "sphere of influence," but the defeat of Italy was seized by Britain as an opportunity to stake her own claim. In 1906, the three Imperialist Powers—Britain, France and Italy—signed a Treaty which foreshadowed the partition of Abyssinia between them. The Treaty contained the usual hypocritical formula about guaranteeing the integrity of Abyssinia, but, in fact, gave Britain the right to regulate the head waters of the Nile, made Italy paramount in Western Abyssinia, and put France in authority over her railway zone.'

Buying out Italy

The next stage in this story of Imperialist robbery came with the beginning of the World War. By Treaty Italy was allied with Germany and Austria, but France and Britain bought her off. They signed a secret Treaty under which Italian Imperialism was promised that the frontiers of her East African colonies should be extended at the expense of Abyssinia.

After the war Britain wanted to make sure of her control of the Nile by building a barrage in Lake Tsana. Italy offered to support this claim if Britain in return would recognize Italy's exclusive economic influence in Western Abyssinia. But Britain turned the offer down. She was afraid of antagonizing France and believed that she was powerful enough to win through without Italian support. She self-righteously told Italy that the claim to exclusive Italian influence would be a violation of the Treaty of 1906 which had acknowledged the integrity of Abyssinia!

Six years later the position changed. The Abyssinian Government had resisted Britain's demands, and the British Government wanted Italian support. Britain forgot all about the promise to

maintain the integrity of Abyssinia in the Treaty of 1906. She forgot all about her righteous indignation in 1919. She agreed to recognize Italy's claim to the whole of Western Abyssinia as a 'sphere of influence'!

Then an unexpected rebuff took place. The Abyssinian Government rejected the arrangement between Britain and Italy, and threatened to expose this Imperialist design before the League . . .

Baffled, Britain tried new tactics. It offered Abyssinia the bribe of a corridor of 600 square miles of territory through British Somaliland to the coast. The British Government was so sure that this offer would be accepted that maps were published in 1926 marking the Port of Zelia as in Abyssinian territory! To the surprise of the British Imperialists the Abyssinians rejected the offer. They were not to be bribed out of their independence.

To continue the story, in 1928, Italy and Abyssinia entered into a treaty of friendship providing for arbitration in all disputes for a period of 20 years. A further agreement was signed at the same time whereby Abyssinia was granted a free zone at the port of Assab in Italian Eritrea. It is clear that up to this time the two countries were friendly to each other. Thereafter, a sudden change took place in the foreign policy of Abyssinia. As technical experts, political advisers and military officers, nationals of other European countries, like Belgium, France, Britain and Sweden were brought in and Italians were carefully excluded. When the year 1934 opened, Italian influence on the Abyssinian Government was practically nothing while British influence was in the ascendant. Moreover, it was talked about that the British government had come to a separate and secret understanding with the Abyssinian Government with regard to the waters of Lake Tsana, without the knowledge or support of Italy. As a countermove, Mussolini came to an understanding with the Abyssinian Government with Laval and the Franco-Italian Pact was signed which gave Italy a free hand in Abyssinia.

In all the writings that have so far appeared in the press, one rarely finds an answer to the question as to why Mussolini decided to launch his Abyssinian campaign just at this moment. Two reasons accounts for this. Firstly, Mussolini felt that British in-

fluence was rapidly growing in Abyssinia as it was growing on the other side of the Red Sea-in Arabia, and if it went on uninterrupted, then Italian influence would be eliminated from Abyssinia altogether. Secondly, Mussolini felt that he would get a respite of two or three years before a European war broke out and that was the only opportunity for Italy to launch the Abyssinian campaign. In fact, historically the Abyssinian campaign stands towards the coming European war in the same relation as the Tripoly and Balkan wars of 1911–1913 towards the Great War of 1914–18.

The question that one must now ask is the issue that is involved in the Abyssinian conflict. To answer the question, I must once again turn to the New Leader of London of the 23rd August.

> 'Abyssinia is the last independent State in the continent of Africa. The rest of the vast territories of Africa have already been divided up between the Imperialist Powers. Britain has seized the greatest share of the swag. Italy is determined to get the last prize before any other Imperialists Power bags it.
>
> There are four Imperialist Powers which have interests in Abyssinia.
>
> British Capitalists are very concerned because Abyssinia contains at Lake Tsana the head-waters of the Blue Nile which irrigates the cotton plantations of the Sudan and Egypt. British financiers are concerned because they have control of the Bank of Abyssinia, which is a subsidiary of the Bank of Egypt.
>
> French Capitalist-Imperialism controls the only railway, which runs from the French port of Jibuti to the Abyssinian capital, Addis Ababa.
>
> Japanese Capitalist-Imperialism is concerned because it owns large tracts of land where raw cotton is cultivated, and because it has a practical monopoly of the Abyssinian market in manufactured cotton goods.
>
> Let no one imagine that the British and French and Japanese Governments are now objecting to the Italian demands because of love of Abyssinia or any championship of human rights or passion for peace.
>
> *Put bluntly, this is a case of thieves falling out. The British,*

French and Japanese Governments object to Mussolini collaring the lot.'

When the British Government first realized that Mussolini was not playing a game of bluff, they adopted a *illegible* attitude. The Morning Post, which is the organ of the generals, admirals and armed services, reflected this spirit and wrote in its leading article of the 22nd August:

> 'Abyssinia is to be the test of our mettle. If we suffer humiliation meekly, it is not to be inferred that something more substantial can be tried on us a little later? The idea, it seems, is being cultivated in certain quarters abroad that the British Empire is only waiting to be carved up by other races whose destiny lies in the future. The sooner that idea is destroyed, the better it will be for the tranquility of the world. it is time we made it plain to all and sundry that the British Empire in neither for sale, nor to be had for the asking.'
>
> 'Since these weighty talks the public has been still more disturbed by reports that the War Office has decided to send a second battalion of soldiers to the Sudan, to increase its military forces at Malta and Aden, to send a strong contingent of the Indian Army to strengthen the British Legation guard in the Abyssinian capital, and to prepare the Mediterranean fleet for service.'

Remarkable Circular

One highly significant paragraph got into the Press and then hushed up. Last week the sub-postmasters throughout Britain received a document headed 'Partial or General Mobilization.' It read as follows:

> 'Acceptance of telegrams without pre-payment. In view of the present emergency, all inland or overseas telegrams on War Office service should be accepted for dispatch without prepayment, if duly certified by a military officer or a permanent civil servant employed by the War Office.
>
> The authorities have explained that this circular was sent

out in error. Apparently 32,000 of these forms (numbered C18149) were printed last month by the Stationery Office; but it was not the intention to use them at once. The fact that had been prepared is sufficiently alarming.'

In the same issue, the New Leader explain the motives behind these war preparations:

'What is the explanation of these developments? The fear that Italy would obtain control of the head-waters of the Blue Nile at Lake Tsana, in Abyssinia and thus be able to destroy the irrigation of the British Cotton-fields in the Sudan and Egypt; the danger that italian domination of Abyssinia would enable it to bottle up the Suez Canal, control the Red Sea and command the sea route to India, were sufficient reasons for grave anxiety among British Imperialists.

Mussolini has been indicating the he "sees no reason" why the British domination of the Eastern Mediterranean should continue. Mussolini has threatened the status quo in the East-ern Mediterranean and the North-East Africa. In plain words, he menaces the very heart of the lines of communication of British Imperialism to the Near East, to India and to Australia.

It is a realization of this ambitious purpose of Italy that has led the National Government and British Imperialists generally to determine to use every means to stop Mussolini. The enthusiasm for the sanctions of the League of Nations does not arise from a love of peace or a desire to champion Abyssinia. The British Imperialist are hiding their concern behind these "righteous" aims in order to win the support of opinion which is devoted to the League and to the cause of peace. It is actually using enthusiasm for peace to prepare the British people for Imperialist war.'

There was such a wave of sympathy for Abyssinia everywhere that at first very few people realized, except probably in France, that the real motives which inspired the war-party in Great Britain were purely imperialistic. France was skeptical of the new-fangled love of Britain for the League of Nations which Italy was flouting because she (France) was still sore over the Anglo-German Naval

Agreement which had been contracted without French knowledge and approval and which had served to legalize the illegal re-armament of Germany in Defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. The French skeptics pointed out in their defence that Britain had remained quite passive when Japan had defied the League and attacked China in Manchuria and when Bolivia and Paraguay had gone to war though both were members of the League.

I shall now proceed to show that when Britain was all but prepared to plunge into another war with all her dependencies behind her-something like a miracle happened. Suddenly the shadow of Hitler appeared on the distant horizon and served to paralyse the outstretched arms of Great Britain ready to strike at Italy.

One feels lost in admiration at the diplomacy of British politicians in mobilizing public opinion in Great Britain and abroad in favor of their anti-Italian policy. In 1914, the slogan had been: 'Save Belgium;' in 1935, the slogan was: 'Save the League of Nations.' Even the British Labor Party and the British Communist Party fell in line with the National (Conservative) Governments of Great Britain. Only a small group of Independent Labor Party men led by Maxton, Fenner Brockway and McGovern had the courage and honesty to stand out and proclaim from the house-tops that it was going to be another imperialist war, in which the British workers had no interest whatsoever. But the efforts of the Independent Labor Party were drowned in the chorus of approval which greeted the Government. With this truly overwhelming national support behind him, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Foreign Secretary, spoke to Italy and to the world with a firm voice form the rostrum of the League at Geneva.

I shall leave it to students of politics to answer how and why the British Labor Party and the British Communist Party gave the go-by to their traditional peace-policy in this crisis and lined up behind the Baldwin-Hoare Government. It was certainly a triumph for Conservative diplomacy.

While Britain was making her warlike preparations Italy was not idle. A virulent and anti-British campaign was conducted by the entire Italian Press and the Italian dictator openly proclaimed that he was simply following France and Britain in their colonial

campaigns and was prepared for all emergencies if he met with interference from any quarter. Was sit due to puffed-up vanity that Italy—the creation of 1861—was prepared to cross swords with almighty Great Britain? I think not. Italy was conscious that the development of air-power during the last decade had completely altered the old values in war and that her superior air force combined with her small but thoroughly efficient modern navy had placed her at a superior tactical advantage in the Mediterranean Sea as compared with Britain.

In spite of what the Italians may claim, there is little doubt that Britain with the support of her large Empire would in the long run have defeated Italy. But, on the other hand, it is quite certain, that the Italian air force—one of the most efficient in the world and, by common consent, superior to that of Great Britain today—would have done irreparable damage to the British Navy. Britain would, in consequence, have emerged out of a victorious war, far weaker than she is today. And with a crippled navy she would have to face the gigantic re-armament of Nazi Germany.

A small group of Imperialist-strategists began to urge that the distant rumblings now heard in Memel constituted a greater menace to great Britain than Italian exploits in Abyssinia. This warning was confirmed and reiterated by French politicians of all shades of opinion for whom the only concern now is how to prepare for the future German menace. Ultimately the British Cabinet realized that for them, discretion was the better part of valour. The reason is that though Hitler has been following a sincerely pro-British policy and has no intention of assuming the aggressive role on Germany's Western Front, and though all his objectives are on the Eastern and Southern Front, e.g., in Memel, Austria, Czechoslovakia, etc., most British politicians are suspicious of re-armed Germany. They feel that even if Germany has today no intentions of fighting England or even France, as soon as Germany attempts to expand to the East and to the South, a situation may arise when both France and England may be drawn into a war with her, if they are to prevent German hegemony in Europe. In such a contingency, with a crippled navy, Great Britain will be at a serious disadvantage as compared with Germany. Already the German air force is superior to

that of the entire British Empire and with conscription in force, the German land-forces will soon become superior to those of the British Empire. The only hope of maintaining a balance of fighting power in favor of Britain for a future emergency lies in preserving and enlarging the present naval strength of Great Britain.

While these calculations and considerations were being carefully deliberated upon in Great Britain, Italy announced that if she was thwarted by France and Britain in her Abyssinian policy she would completely withdraw from the politics of Central Europe, and give Hitler a free hand. The effect was remarkable and sabre-rattling ceased. Thus Hitler by his re-armament policy frightened France and Britain into maintaining the peace in Europe in 1935.

As a confirmation of this statement, one may refer to the recent speech of the British Premier Mr Baldwin at the recent Conservative Party Conference at Bournemouth. Mr Baldwin said:

> 'But I want to say to you that recent events have confirmed in my own mind doubts and anxieties which have been presented to me and my colleagues for some time past. We have, as you know, since the War done more in the way of practical disarmament . . . than any other country . . . We cannot pursue that path longer. The whole perspective on the continent has been altered in the past year or two by the rearming of Germany. I have no reason to believe in hostile intentions . . . But I cannot be blind to the fact that the presence of another great nation armed alters the perspective of Europe in the fulfilment of obligations under the League of Nations. I cannot conceal from myself that some day the fulfilment of those obligations may mean that the nations who are fulfilling them may have to maintain by force of arms the Covenant of the League.'

It is probable that another factor also served to cool official enthusiasm for a fight with Italy—namely, public opinion within the British Empire. On this point, the Daily Mail (Paris Edition) wrote, on the 26th September, in its leading article:

Some of our bloodthirsty Pacifist Journals have now started printing articles which suggest that the Dominions would willingly

support sanctions even though war followed. The attitude of the peoples of the Dominions to the League of Nations in the present dispute is a matter of the first importance; and it is vital for the people of Great Britain to know whether the application of sanctions to Italy—were such a dangerous step possible—would split the Empire and gravely accentuate differences within it. on an examination of the evidence, the answer seems to be in the affirmative-that war following the application of the sanctions would divide Empire opinion seriously and produce such discontent among large sections of the population in the Dominions as to aggravate all the difficulties overseas.

The oldest of the great Dominions, Canada, has always been uneasy as to the obligations of the Covenant. In 1924, she opposed any extension of her liabilities under the League on the ground that she was remote from Europe.

That attitude her people have generally upheld. In his broadcast of September 6, Mr Bennett, the Canadian Prime Minister, declared that it was the duty of the Government. 'By all just and honorable means to see that Canada is kept our of trouble. . . . We will not be embroiled in any foreign quarrel. . . . '

As for Australia, Mr Lyons, her Prime Minister, has promised 'close co-operation' with the British Government. A very different line has been taken by Mr Forde, the leader of the Federal Labour Party, who has proclaimed the policy of that formidable organization to be 'A firm refusal to participate in any external war.' In New South Wales, the Party has passed a resolution demanding that Australia should declare her neutrality at Geneva and recall her representative there, if the League's action brings war . . . In South Africa, General Smuts has stated that the Union 'stands to the Covenant in letter and in spirit. . . . '

The South African Defense Minister, Mr Pirow, views conditions quite differently from General Smuts. On September 15, he told a public meeting: 'I am certain in any case that South Africans no intention of firing a shot . . . Whatever happens we will not shoot.' There is practical confirmation of this feeling in the fact that South African farmers are anxious to get orders for the supply of meat to the Italian armies in East Africa and Abyssinia.

In view of these declarations, there is a distinct likelihood that certain of the Dominions might hold aloof and sever their connection with the League were the impossible realized by some wild freak of chance, and all the States composing the League induced to vote for sanctions. Surely our League enthusiasts must realize that it is not fair, in such conditions to create differences and sow disunion within the Empire.

The latest news from Australia goes to show that opinion there is sharply divided on the question of sanctions against Italy, which may lead to war. The Times (London) of the 12th October said that 'by 27 votes to 21 the House of Representatives today rejected the attempt by Mr Beasley, the Lang Labor leader, to induce Parliament to declare Australian neutrality and refusal to endorse sanctions against Italy.' With regard to the situation in Palestine which is under British mandate, the Time of the 12th October wrote as follows:

'It is alleged that pro-Italian political sympathies are chiefly held by the partisans of Haj Amin Effendi el Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, and since the outbreak of the Ethiopian dispute the Mufti's newspaper Jamia El Arabiya has published pro Italian articles, while its rival which supports the Nashashibi Party, has revealed the existence of a letter purporting to have come from the Emir Shekib Arslan to the Mufti, commending his Eminence's pro-Italian activities. During the last few weeks there have been frequent comments in the Arab Press in general on the wisdom of exploiting the present international confusion in unity with other Arab people for the purpose of throwing off the exiled Syrian nationalists leader who lives in Geneva.)

Among the Jews, the Revisionists Party, or new Zionists, are on the side of Italy. Their newspaper Hayarden is alone among Jewish newspapers in Palestine in reporting the vents of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute in pro-Italian colours.'

So far as Egypt is concerned, it is quite clear that the leaders while not openly opposing British policy towards Italy, are pressing for a recognition of the full independence of Egypt, if Egyptian sympathy and support are to be secured for Great Britain. How far they will be able to drive the bargain home, depends on the inter-

national situation. if the international situation gradually quiets down, then it is doubtful if the Egyptian leaders will obtain any substantial success. But in any case it seems likely that they will have some success. Already the continental papers have announced that with British support, capitulations will be abolished in Egypt. That means that Egyptian Courts will have full power to try foreigners and this will constitute a step towards Egypt's independence in the domain of public law.

In Great Britain, public opinion as a whole is behind the Government in its policy of sanctions against Italy. Nevertheless, the embers of the Cabinet are closely watching the situation. It is not true to say the present Cabinet have decided for an early election only because they think that the present occasion is favorable from the electioneering point of view. They also want to feel the pulse of the Nation and see how far they can go in the direction of enforcing 'sanctions' against Italy. Meanwhile, the Independent Labor Party, which has throughout followed a bold and consistent policy on the present issue has summoned a national conference of all working-class organizations opposed to sanctions and war and has issued the following manifesto:

'The Labor Party, The Trades Union Congress and the Communist Party in supporting the imposition of sanctions by the National Government and the League of Nations, are in fact lining up workers behind the policy which would be used for British Imperialism. The independent Labor Party warns workers that economic and financial sanctions are likely to develop into war. Full preparations have been made for a naval blockade of Italy. The war policy of the Government should be resisted now.' (The Times 10th October, 1935).

The Times of the same date gives the news that a private meeting of about 50 Conservative M.P.'s led by Mr L.S. Amery will be held to consider the present international situation and the danger of Great Britain becoming involved in the war between Italy and Abyssinia, because in their opinion the effective application of sanctions will lead to war. We have now to watch and see what effect is produced on the British Cabinet by this joint pressure from the Right and the Left.

And now about India

According to their practice of having no interest in international affairs, the Congress leaders seem to be without a policy on this all important question. True, there has been a large volume of sympathy for Abyssinia among the public at large—but this sympathy was immediately exploited by the British Government instead of being harnessed by the leaders of the people. As a result, Indian troops were rushed to Addis Ababa. Why was this done? When questioned in the Council of State about this, the Political Secretary to the Government of India replied that 'troops had been sent to Addis Ababa with a view to protect Indians and other British subjects.' Are the Indian people really so naive that they can be taken in by such a statement? Abyssinia, still being an independent country, neither Indian nor British troops can go there to protect Indians. The fact is—as stated in England—that as a result of a special representation—the Abyssinian Government allowed an extra guard for the British Legation as a special concession (ordinarily this guard should be provided by the Abyssinian Government). The question now is why this extra guard was taken all the way from India. There were British troops near at hand across the frontier of Abyssinia, e.g., in Kenya, in Sudan, in Egypt and in British Somaliland. Why were they not sent to Addis Ababa? The reason is clear. Indian troops were sent with the idea of committing Indian support to British policy in Abyssinia and on the other hand, to remind Italy that the vast resources of India are behind Great Britain.

It is now an open secret that during the months of August and September we were within an inch of a European war. And but for the menace of a rearmed Germany, the war would have broken out and India would have been dragged into it as in 1914, before Indian leaders realized where they stood. The only difference would have been that Italy would have taken the place of Germany and Abyssinia of Belgium. Only a fool would accept the statement of the Commander-in-Chief before the Central Legislature that before India gets entangled in a war, we shall be given sufficient notice of it. In the present case, if war had broken out in Europe, Great

Britain would have emerged victorious—thanks to the resources of India—but Abyssinia would have shared the fate of Palestine and India would have continued enslaved as before. It is to be greatly regretted that the spokesman of Great Britain at Geneva, with an unabashed impudence, mentioned Britain's treatment of India as an argument to prove her (Britain's) moral superiority over Italy—not withstanding the fact that while he spoke, bombs were raining over the heads of women and children of the frontier province and the Indian Government was forging fresh fetters for the Indian people in the shape of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

It is strange that Italy has been conducting a virulent and persistent campaign against the other imperialist powers hoping thereby to secure mitigation of the wrong that she is doing to Abyssinia. Her semi-official spokesman Signor Gayada writes for example, in the Italian Press:

'The Committee of Thirteen is wrong when affirming that the Abyssinian aggression cannot be taken into consideration by the League because Italy has not denounced them at Geneva before. France has not denounced the actions which provoked her campaign in Morocco; nor has England informed Geneva of the obscure situation which has been created on the North-Western Frontier of India where British troops have fought against free populations not subject to her rule.' (The Times, 7th October).

This persistent campaign is now finding an echo in some European countries, e.g. the official organ of the Polish Government, The Gazetta Polska, wrote the other day:

'Why does Great Britain herself, always ruthless in the use of force against the colored races, so energetically oppose Italian plans in connection with Abyssinia?'

Among the Governments of Europe, Austria and Hungary, who come under the Italian orbit of influence, have openly announced at Geneva that they are opposed to sanctions against Italy. Germany, being out of the League, has not yet declared her attitude towards the question of sanctions, but will probably follow the policy most conducive to her own national interests—present and future. Even in countries that are officially supporting the League in the matter of sanctions against Italy, there is a great deal of scepticism about

the much-vaunted disinterestedness of Great Britain, as is evident from the tone of the Press. For instance, I read in the Continental Press the other day that Abyssinia has placed a very large order for clothing with Lancashire firms—the biggest order that Lancashire has received from abroad for years. Likewise, I read that the British are consolidating and extending their colonial possessions near Aden as a counterblast to the growth of Italian power and influence on the other side of the Red Sea.

Now What about the Future

Since French policy is dominating Continental politics, including the League of Nations, it appears pretty certain, that two things will happen. Firstly, in order to maintain outwardly the prestige of the League of Nations which means in actual practice, the prestige of the big powers, France and England, some collective move will be taken in the form of economic sanctions. Mussolini himself has prepared the way for this by stating openly in his speech on the 2nd October, that he will put up with economic sanctions, however inconvenient. Secondly, no military measures will be adopted against Italy, nor will such effective sanctions be adopted as will frustrate Italian objectives in Abyssinia. Mussolini has said in so may words that such a move will be treated by him as a casus belli. Moreover, Italy has openly hinted that if she is thwarted in Abyssinia, she will by way of retaliation, withdraw from Central Europe and give Germany a free hand there. Nevertheless, one would be too optimistic to say that the war-danger is off. The British Navy remains concentrated in the Mediterranean and Britain has so far refused to comply with Italy's request for its withdrawal. Besides this, it is asserted by radical newspapers in Britain that the despatch of troops and war material to the potential war-zone is going on. It is clear that Great Britain has climbed down with great reluctance and has not yet given up the war-spirit. She is, however, trying to cloak her retreat with the slogan of 'collective action.'

They say that every dark cloud has its silver lining. So it is in the case of Abyssinia. Abyssinia will go down fighting but she will stir the conscience of the world. On the one hand, throughout the

world of colored races there will be a new consciousness. The consciousness will herald the dawn of a new life among the suppressed nations. All imperialists are feeling uneasy about this phenomenon and General Smuts gave expression to it in one of his recent speeches. On the other hand, thinking men in the imperialist countries have begun to ask themselves if the system of colonization is at all a justifiable one. Professor Harold Laski once in a letter to the Manchester Guardian suggested, for example, that all the African colonies of Great Britain should be handed over to the League of Nations. Of late, Mr Lansbury has done the same. So even the imperialist 'haves' have begun to feel a prick of conscience.

There are two ways in which Imperialism may come to an end—either through an overthrow by an anti-imperialist agency or through an internecine struggle among imperialists themselves. If the second course is furthered by the growth of Italian Imperialism, then Abyssinia will not have suffered in vain.

India's Future*

Every Indian is proud of the Congress, which stands for the general collaboration of all Indians.

India is at present in the state of a new birth. We are still far from our goal, but we shall fight on and we look forward to our future, which will be brighter and nobler than the past.

Isolation is bad. Our youth must get into contact with the world. Today there are only small groups of Indians abroad, but the day is not far when we shall have our own legations everywhere.

* Excerpts from a speech delivered by Subhas Chandra Bose at the Vienna Hindustan Academical Association's celebration of the Jubilee of the All-India National Congress on 8 January 1936.

Labour in Jamshedpur—The Other Side of the Picture*

The article from the pen of Mr J.L. Keenan, the General Manager of the Tata Iron and Steel Works of Jamshedpur, in 'The Modern Review' for December, 1935, is interesting for more reasons than one. It is interesting for the digressions from the steel-making into the domain of historical and sociological research—interesting for the placid self-complacency which inspires the writer—interesting also for the many contradictions in which the article abounds.

A word about historical and sociological matters. When Mr Keenan talks about steel-production, he is on solid ground and his self-confidence is an asset. When he digresses into the thorny domain of Ancient History or sociology, his self-confidence becomes a handicap. Says Mr Keenan: 'He (J.N. Tata) realized that India from the time of Manu was condemned to be a country of capitalists and slaves' (p. 705). It is a truism in economics that capitalism is a recent growth in consequence of the advent of large-scale production. How there could have been a capitalist order at the time of Manu and after, passes my comprehension. Even landlordism as we see it today in India is a recent growth. Further, even the state in ancient times did not amass wealth—the prevalent idea being that the state

(whether monarchy or a republic) should give everything to the people. A typical example of this was King Harshavardhana, who emptied the Royal treasury once in five years.

Then Mr Keenan goes on to say: 'We (Tata) know that in India before his time the mere name of a labourer must be expressive of contempt' (p. 705). If Mr Keenan has used the work 'labourer' in the sense of artisan, he is mistaken. The artisans in the Indian village economy—whether carpenters or blacksmiths or potters—were never looked down upon with contempt. They were indispensable elements of the village economy and their sable elements of the village economy and their relations with the rest of the village population were perfectly friendly and cordial. Labourers in the

* Published in *Modern Review*, February, 1936, and reprinted in Subhas C. Bose, *Through Congress Eyes* (Kitabistan, Allahabad and London, 1938).

sense of industrial proletariat are an excrescence of capitalism and not an Indian phenomenon as such. If labourers (industrial proletariat) are looked down upon in India, similar is the case in other countries. I have heard from Indian apprentices in European factories that the gulf which separates workmen from officers in European factories is very wide.

Mr Keenan is also wrong when he goes on to say 'that a labourer was a rule forbidden to accumulate wealth and, though he was a slave, even if his master gave him freedom, he was still a slave' (p. 705). I wonder from where Mr Keenan culled this valuable piece of information. We know, on the contrary, that in India low-born people often rose to the highest positions by dint of their personal qualities. If we investigate the past history of some of the present Maharajah and landed aristocrats, useful information can be collected in this connection. I may also point to examples like that of the alleged Kaivarta Kings of Bengal, who came from a so-called low stratum of society.

The distinction, between 'Labour of Necessity' and 'Labour of Progress' which Mr Keenan has drawn is artificial and if I may say so, fantastic. Even in ancient times, all labour was not labour of necessity. People did not work only for hunger, nor did they always get starvation wages. Most people worked partly because of hunger, and partly because of the pleasure in working; and it is too much to say that labour in the good old days was always sweated. The huge monuments of art that still live—Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Taj Mahal, Madura, Kanarak—do they not represent labour of progress as well? It is true that industries in the old days did not pay huge dividends as they sometimes do now. But we have to remember that huge dividends are exclusively the product of the industrial revolution—that is of large-scale production. Moreover, this phenomenon of huge dividends can hardly be called an advantage or an achievement. Thinking men everywhere are now coming to admit that the evils resulting from industrial capitalism are due largely to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, and to abnormally large dividends which are gathered either at the cost of sweated labour or at the cost of the exploited consumer in colonial or semi-colonial countries.

Mr Keenan transgresses the limits of decency when he refers to President Roosevelt 'assisted by a group of asinine Professors' trying to find a way out of the present depression. I do no hold any brief for President Roosevelt nor does the noble President stand in need of it. But is there anyone who can deny that the biggest experiment to end unemployment and depression that is going on in the world today outside Russia is in the U.S.A.? I would refer the writer to the excellent treatise written by Mr H.G. Wells, *The New American in the World*, in which he discusses the American experiment and compares it with the Russian. Incidentally Mr Wells refers therein to the question as to why President Roosevelt sought the help of some professors, whom Mr Keenan in his self-complacency calls 'asinine.' Possibly what has annoyed Mr Keenan is that President Roosevelt is laying his hands on the large dividends with a view to dividing them, in part at least, among the exploited proletariat and that he (President Roosevelt) maintains that the employers should recognise organized trade-unions and treat them as equals.

Mr Keenan is not only self-complacent, he is more. He says that 'as far as making steel in India is concerned that Company (Tatas) has ended the depression in that trade and I think that Company should be proud of this fact' (p. 707). But let me ask Mr Keenan what after all, 'ending depression under a capitalist system' means. It means finding more markets and also sufficient capital to keep a concern going until more markets are found. The Huge bounties given by the Indian people through the Government of India in the lean years helped the Company to keep going until more markets or orders could be found. That the Company today is able to make more profits is due to two factors: firstly, the duties imposed on foreign—specially continental—steel, which make it possible for the people to patronise Tatas, and secondly the orders directly placed by the Government of India with the Tata Iron and Steel Company. It is therefore the people and the Government of India who are really responsible for ending the depression in the steel trade—if really it has ended. Mr Keenan has not a word of thanks for either of them, though he congratulates the Company, and therefore self, for the recent improvement.

I happen to know something about Tatas since September,

1928, and I should like to enquire if the Tata Iron and Steel Company would have been alive today but for the heavy state-bounties which kept the Company going during the lean years and provided the fat salaries for the covenanted officers at a time when thousands of workmen were thrown into the streets, without unemployment, dole, or insurance benefit. I should also like to enquire if the Company would have been able to end the depression, as the General Manager claims it has done, without the aid of the heavy duties levied on imported steel and without the sympathy and support of the public and the Government of India. The confusion of thought which the writer shows in some places is pathetic, and makes one wish, that he would devote more attention to the study of economics than to history and sociology. Here is a specimen of his reasoning: 'in 1929 and in 1930, our monthly staff with the exception of a few whom you could count on the fingers of two hands, were "labourers of progress." The Steel Company earned dividends last year and this Steel Company, rightly, paid their "labourers of progress" a reward for their extra effort which they had put forth' (p. 707). A perusal of the above would lead one to think that the financial improvement of the Company was due to improvement in the work put forth by the employees in 1931 and after. The fact is that the financial improvement was due solely to the larger orders secured by Tatas, as explained in the previous paragraph. If one were to go round and examine one employee after another, one would not find any difference between his work in 1929–30 and his work in 1931–33. I clearly remember that in 1929 and 1930 the General Manager used to complain of lack of orders which forced him to reduce wages—to order sweeping retrenchment and to shut down certain department of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in Jamshedpur.

The writer remarks in one place as follows: 'At the present time, in my opinion, due to economic factors, the entire labour of the steel world, with the exception of the labour in the Tata Iron and Steel Company Ltd., have forgotten that they are "Labour of Progress" and they are "Labour of Necessity" . . . There is nobody in the United States of America today, in my opinion, at least in the ranks of Labour, who are attempting to get out of the category

of "Labour of Necessity" . . . There is no doubt that each and everyone of us realise that we have had a depression from 1928 until 1933 in India. The same depression exists in other countries. The Tata Iron and Steel Company, in my estimation, is the only company in the steel trade which has advanced . . . ' (pp. 706–7).

The above statements would lead one to expect that Jamshedpur has become a paradise for steel workers—an object lesson for steel companies in other parts of the world. But what are the facts? Earlier in the article the writer states that American steel workers are the best paid in the world. Quoting a report of the American Iron and Steel Institute dated the 30th January, 1935, the writer says: 'American workers . . . earned an average of 64.7 cents an hour in November 1934 . . . The Japanese wage rate was 9.7 cents per hour and in India 8.6 cents per hour in 1933.' (The figure for European countries are in the neighbourhood of 25 cents per hour.) If the average for India is one-eighth of that of the United States of America and if the Tata Iron and Steel Company is by far the biggest steel industry in India, I think the General Manager of Tatas should hang his head down in shame instead of indulging in meaningless bragging.

That the writer was conscious of his company's shortcomings when he first sat down to write is clear from the following remarks on p. 705: 'We think we are doing good work; we brag about our hospitals; we boast about our wages paid, but do we stop to think and make a comparison between India and Europe or America? I certainly can state that we do not . . . We must compare the emoluments we pay our workmen with the wages that are paid in Europe.'

I shall now come to the more serious charges that can be levelled against the Tata Iron and Steel company. These charges are under the following heads:

1) Their attitude towards Indianization.
2) Their inefficiency in the matter of checking wastage.
3) Their attitude towards Labour.

I should preface my remarks under the above three heads with the statement that the Directors of Tatas always claim that theirs is a 'national' industry and on this ground they have taken the

fullest advantage of the sympathy of the unsophisticated public. But I shall presently show that Tatas' concern in Jamshedpur is much less 'national' than even the textile mills of the Indian industrial magnates for whom 'nationalism' or 'patriotism' is often a convenient excuse for robbing the public.

When the Steel Company was first started about 25 years ago, a large number of foreigners, mostly Americans and Britons, were appointed to the higher posts on a covenant. They were given princely salaries with equally princely bonus—and I know of cases in which the bonus was even higher than the salary and was independent of production or profit. If I mistake not, the General Manager himself draws Rs 10,000/- a month—equal to what the Governors of the major provinces in India get. The public were given to understand that as soon as a sufficient number of Indians would be trained, they would take the place of the covenanted officers. This promise has not been redeemed. Between 1928 and 1931, we made repeated requests for Indianisation but without much success. The position today is that in many departments Indians are doing the same work as covenanted foreigners but at half or one-third the total emoluments enjoyed by the latter. Moreover, during this period, when I was in close contact with the General Manager, I complained that the contracts of several covenanted officers were being renewed for a further period, though there were competent Indians to take their place—but to no purpose. If an impartial investigation were made today into the number of foreigners employed at Jamshedpur and the emoluments they draw—the Tata Iron and Steel Company would stand condemned.

Tata Iron and Steel Company is undoubtedly a very big concern and therefore there should be very close supervision in order to prevent wastage. But on this point, too, the situation is far from satisfactory. The Directors are all absentees and have very little knowledge of the inner working of the concern. They are all busy men with several irons in their fire and have not even the desire or leisure to know more of the working of the Jamshedpur machinery. The result is that the actual working of the vast machinery is left in the hands of foreigners who have no responsibility to anyone except the absentee Board which is entirely under their thumb. I

first realized the helplessness of the Board when I had to discuss the terms of settlement on behalf of the strikers in September, 1928. If on any point the General Manager said 'yes,' the Board would consent. If, on the contrary, the General Manager said 'no'—it was also 'no' from the Board.

That a settlement did take place after all was due to the fact that the then General Manager, Mr Alexander, felt disposed to welcome it. Not long after settlement, I once suggested to the Chairman of the Board of Directors that he and the Board should have more contact with the workmen and for that purpose, it would be good for him to go round the works without being chaperoned by the Company's officials. The Chairman seemed agreeable to my proposal but my suggestion could not be given effect to, because the General Manager was opposed to it. Nevertheless, the Board began to realize their position, I think, because not long after that, they sent one of the Directors to Jamshedpur—and later on to Calcutta—to act as a liaison officer between the Board and the Management. Since his appointment, there has been some administrative tightening-up in Jamshedpur. And in Calcutta and elsewhere most of the papers have been won over with the help of advertisements, with the result that today one finds very little criticism of tata Iron and Steel Company in the nationalist press. But the real trouble—*viz.*, wastage and inefficiency—continues.

The above-mentioned Director is an ex-I.C.S. and an able administrator—but he lacks technical knowledge without which it is impossible to force the hands of the Management. One of the results of this is that in the matter of Indianisation the progress so far made has been unsatisfactory. There are any number of covenanted officers whose places could easily be filled up by competent Indians, at a much lower rate of pay. I have quoted above-the-average Indian wage-rate as being 8.6 cents per day for the year 1933. But if we exclude the highly paid foreigners, there can be no doubt that the average would fall much lower.

The top-heavy administration represents, however, a small item in the wastage that has been going on in Jamshedpur. If one would go over the stores department and see the amount of capital lying uselessly idle there, and would also examine the annual orders that

are sent out for machinery, spare parts, etc., one would have some idea of the wastage that goes on in Jamshedpur. About 7 or 8 years ago, the services of the Indian Chief Electrical Engineer—one of the most popular officers of the Company—were suddenly dispensed with and a foreigner was imported in his place. Then followed a period during which wastage took place in the Electrical Department owing to faulty and unscientific methods of handling. Fuel-consumption is another important source of wastage. For a huge concern like Tata Iron and Steel Company, it is absolutely necessary to make use of the latest scientific devices for reducing fuel- consumption and also to carry on continuous research in this matter. But Tata Iron and Steel Company are backward in this respect. It is because of wastage combined with top-heavy administration that the Tata Iron and Steel Company cannot stand on its own legs and must always depend on the state for either bounties or protective duties. In a country where labour is so cheap, any well-organized steel concern should be able to maintain itself without being spoon-fed by the state. There are independent concerns in Jamshedpur which buy raw materials like scrap-iron (or electrical power) from Tatas and make a profit out of their products, only because they avoid wastage and top-heavy administration.

The last—and to our purpose the most important point to which I shall refer is the attitude of the Tata Iron and Steel Company towards labour. The first trade union was organized in Jamshedpur in 1920 and by that time so many grievances had accumulated that the years 1921–22 witnessed serious labour-trouble there. About this time, the late Deshbandhu C.R. Das's sympathy was drawn towards the Jamshedpur workers and as long as he was alive, he gave them the fullest support. But this support was of no avail until the Swaraj Party emerged as the most powerful element in the Indian Legislative Assembly in the 1923 elections. Deshbandhu Das was joined by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru and Tatas then found it necessary to come to terms with these nationalist leaders because the Assembly would soon consider the question of a state-bounty for Tata Iron and Steel Company. Tatas then agreed to recognize the trade union (called the Labour Association), to collect the union subscription on pay-

day and generally to ameliorate the condition of the workers. for some time, the position of the workers saw a decided improvement but after the death of Deshbandhu, things began to grow worse again.

Deshbandhu's place was taken by Mr C.F. Andrews who kept the flag flying with the moral support of the Congress Party in the Assembly—but the unsympathetic and callous behaviour of the Company's officials led to a serious strike in 1928. Since then the Company's attitude towards labour has been one which would be worthy not of a 'national' industry but of the worst bureaucratic Government. My connection with Jamshedpur labour began in August 1928, when the strikers and their leader, Mr Homi, put irresistible pressure on me to espouse their cause. When the Company found themselves in a very difficult situation as a result of my joining the strikers, they agreed to accept the demand of the workers but only on condition that the Company did not have to negotiate with Mr Homi, against whom personally, they said, they had many grievances. Mr Homi at first agreed to stand out if a settlement helpful to the workers could be arrived at thereby. But when the settlement was actually drawn up and ratified by the workers at a mass-meeting, he changed his mind and set up a new organization to oppose the settlement.

Soon after the settlement the Company refused to give effect to some of the important terms, as a result of which a large number of the workers went over to Mr Homi's party. For a few months the Company refused to recognize Mr Homi's organization but one fine morning their tactics were changed. Their erstwhile enemy Mr Homi was invited by the General Manager, and his organisation was recognized. The old organization, Labor Association, was ignored and those who had drawn up the settlement and had stood loyally by it were left alone. After some time the scene changed once again. Prosecution was launched against Mr Homi under various charges, and he found himself in prison; with the disappearance of Mr Homi, his organization became a shut-up shop.

The withdrawal of the Congress Party from the Assembly in January, 1930, led to a definite stiffening of the Company's attitude towards the workers. After Mr Homi's imprisonment, whenever a

worker's meeting was held, a band of goondas armed with sticks and other weapons would appear on the scene and break up the meeting by force. In 1931, I was presiding at such a meeting which was broken up in this way and I can therefore speak from personal experience. This situation continued for some years and even in 1934, things were so bad in Jamshedpur that during a visit to that town, Mahatma Gandhi was constrained to remark in a public meeting that he was 'grieved to learn that the issues between the employers and the employed were being settled at the point of the lathi.'

It can be alleged on behalf of the workers that since 1930, the Company has been following a ruthless policy towards them. Recognition was withdrawn from both the workers' organisations—the collection of subscriptions on pay-day was discontinued and employees connected with the trade-union movement were either victimized or transferred to places far away from Jamshedpur. In January, 1934, when the local Government officials in Jamshedpur prosecuted a gang of about 40 goondas, high officials of Tatas were found to take interest in the affair for settling the matter out of court.

The climax was reached in 1935, when the Company served a notice on the Labour Association demanding arrears of rent for 4 years for the premises used by the Secretary and by the office—though 4 years ago, a clear understanding had been arrived at between me and the Managing Director, Mr Dalal, that the Company would waive their claim for rent. The Company thought that the Association would not be able to pay and could thereupon be ejected and since all the houses in Jamshedpur are virtually owned by the Company, the Association would cease to exist for want of a habitation. The Secretary of the Association went so far as to offer to pay rent in future and also to pay the arrears by instalments—but the Company refused to accept any compromise, proving thereby that what they really wanted was not rent, but the liquidation of the trade-union organization in Jamshedpur.

The Company were going on merrily with their game when suddenly the Congress Party decided once again to enter the Indian Legislative Assembly. The Company knew from experience that

two or three M.L.A.'s were in the habit of raising inconvenient questions about their treatment of labour, and they felt it advisable to change their tactics once again. A new group called the Metal Workers' Union, thereupon came into existence under the Company's patronage and the workmen in the factories were advised by the officials to join this group. This group is still in the good books of the Company, and one of its principal activities is to give tea-parties to Government and Company officials and to wait on deputation on the General Manager. The object of this new policy on the part of the Company is to show to critics in the Assembly an elsewhere that Tata Iron and Steel Company do not suppress all trade-union activity.

I have dealt at length on the attitude of the Company towards organized labour and shall now say a few words about their treatment of the individual workers. I have before me a printed copy of the memorandum submitted by the Metal Workers' Union (which in Jamshedpur is called a 'Company's Union') to the General Manager which contains the following remarks:

'The service conditions of the majority of the workers employed in the Tata Iron and Steel Company are not sound as many of them are given notices of discharge, compulsory leave, etc., without sufficient consideration. For example, the workers of the old Rolling Mills who have long service with the Company and who have contributed towards bringing the Company to the present position it occupies among its sister industries . . . are laid off on compulsory leave . . .

The Company recently started a policy of employing men "temporary" and it is interesting to note that this "temporary" has no limited period. Cases of such men who have put in more than two years of service are not uncommon. By this, the Company is able to save a good deal by non-payment of bonuses and non-extension of privileges according to Works Service Rules, Provident Fund, etc., which can be enjoyed only by permanent employees . . .

Suspension of a worker from his duty extending to weeks is common. In spite of several rulings of the Management to afford a chance to the worker to defend a charge brought against him, the rules are either not followed in several cases, or prompt attention

is not paid to the explanation submitted by the party . . . Similar remarks would apply to such other exemplary punishment such as reduction of salaries . . .

There is no regular system by which employees can get promotions and increments in their wages. For some time past it has become a policy of the Company to abolish as far as practicable higher-rated posts, when vacant and lower-rated men are made to undertake the extra work without adequate compensation . . .

While we appreciate the spirit of encouragement underlying the Bonus schemes, we feel it has been restricted only to some workers. Then again a distinction has been made between Operating and Maintenance Department in respect of Departmental bonuses . . .

The system of weekly paid labour was introduced when the Company was in need of men to do some seasonal work. But for some time past we find weekly labour is employed in permanent force in certain departments whose total number at Jamshedpur comes to about 5000 (including both male and female labour) thus forming about 20 per cent of the total number of employees. Most of such employees have already put in service of over 5 years. *Most of such weekly paid labourers get rates varying from 5 annas to 8 annas per day.* According to the following statistics showing the minimum of expenditure for a family of 5 members as shown in the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour, it will be clear that the cost of living at Jamshedpur is by far higher than that of the two places quoted—Sholapur and Ahmedabad . . . ' (Then follows the statistics showing that the monthly expenses in Sholapur come up to Rs 37–13–11 and in Ahmedabad to Rs 39–5–8. But 5000 Jamshedpur workers get a daily wage varying from 5 annas to 8 annas.)

In view of the above statements made—not by hot-headed agitators—but by a loyal 'Company's Union,' may I ask Mr Keenan how many 'labourers of progress' there are in Jamshedpur? I am afraid that excluding the General Manager and the covenanted officers very few Indian employees could be classified as 'labourers of progress.'

The only portion of the article for which I feel thankful is where the writer refers to the appalling condition of the workers in the Tata Mines. I do hope that with the sympathy of Mrs Keenan

behind him, the General Manager will be able to bring about an increase in the wages of the poor mine-workers.

The writer has evidently referred to the iron-ore mines only. But what about the coal mines? A few years ago when I was working as the President of the Tata Collieries Labour Association I happened to look into the conditions in the Tata coal mines. At that time some mines were being closed down, and thousands of workers were being thrown out of employment. We naturally wanted the mines to continue working, but two arguments were urged by the Company in opposition to our demand—firstly, that the Company had long-term contracts with some collieries, and after taking this supply, the Company did not require an additional supply from their own mines; and secondly, that the cost of production in the Company's mines was rather higher as compared with the prevailing market rate.

It is difficult for an outsider to understand why the Company went in for long-term unprofitable contracts and at the same time invested capital in buying collieries. Firstly, it was wrong to go in for long-term unprofitable contracts. Secondly, if they did go in for them, they should not have bought any collieries. Thirdly, once they started working these collieries, they should not have shut down—because it costs a lot of money to keep mines in proper order when they are not working. Fourthly, there is no reason why they should have had a top-heavy administration in the Collieries Department also—and thereby put up the cost of production. The result of all this inefficiency is that the people and the state have to pay for the sins of the Company and the Indian workers have to be content with low wages.

If Tata's employees at Jamshedpur are to become 'Labourers of Progress' then the top-heavy administration has to be rectified, the covenanted officers have to be got rid of and wastage and inefficiency have to be eliminated. The paltry bonus thrown at a section of the ill-paid Indian employees for their last year's work does not appreciably alter the position of the workers in Jamshedpur, not does it entitle the Company to claim that they are better employers of labour than any other.

A Friend of India in Poland*

During my journey in Poland in 1933 I was fortunate enough to meet several interesting personalities, some of whom were greatly interested in India. The general attitude was one of sympathy for India's struggle for national emancipation. The Poles having struggled long for their freedom, and having won it quite recently—are in a position to sympathize with another nation struggling for its national freedom. I remember that I was once taken in a car by some Polish friends in Warsaw to see peasant-life in the interior. We were taken to a village agricultural school—one of the new schools established by the Government, for giving the children of the peasantry an education in modern scientific agriculture. We were shown round by the caretaker, an old woman, and at the end of the visit, she asked very kindly about the health of Mahatma Gandhi and what he was doing at the time. It was touching.

One of the efforts of the Polish people at present is to industrialize their country as rapidly as possible. For this purpose, they have built a port of their own—Gdyina, which has made them independent of the former German port of Danzig, which has now been internationalized. They are also attempting to develop their foreign trade and in this connection, they have been opening Consulates in different countries. The Polish Consulate in India was opened in Bombay in 1933. The textile industry in Poland is highly developed, one of the important textile centres being Lodz. Recently the Iron and Steel Industry has been making rapid progress.

There is an Oriental Society in Warsaw, the capital of Poland, which is specially interested in Oriental culture. I was invited to a social gathering under the auspices of the Oriental Society and I spoke about our desire for a Polish-Indian Society which would endeavour to foster cultural and commercial relations between our two countries.

The students, both men and women, were wide-awake. The women were particularly enthusiastic in the matter of developing

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contact with foreign countries including India. They wanted information about students and youth organizations in India. Their organization was called the Liga. Within the Liga, they had a separate circle for each country, with which they wanted to develop contact.

In this brief article I shall refer particularly to one interesting personality whom I met in Warsaw—Professor Stanislaw F. Michalski who has devoted his whole life to the study of Sanskrit and Indian literature and is a lover of India.

Prof. Michalski-Iwienski was born in 1881 in Poland. He studied Sanskrit language and Indian literature under Professor Leopold V. Schroder in Vienna from 1905–1911 and in Gottingen, in Germany under Prof. Oldenburg in 1914. For several years he delivered lectures on the Sanskrit Language and Literature at the Polish Free University of Warsaw-Wolna Wszechnica. In 1920 he took part as a volunteer in the war against the Bolsheviks. Since then, Prof. Michalski has been giving his whole time to literary and scientific work. In 1923, together with some Polish Orientalists he founded the Oriental Section of the Warsaw Scientific Society.

Prof. Michalski is the author of a number of books in Polish on India and Indian culture. The following are some of them:

(1) Bhagvad-Gita, 1912; second edition—1920; third edition—1926.
(2) Upanishads (selected), 1913; second edition—1922.
(3) Rama's Longing (one chapter from the Ramayan), 1920.
(4) Dhammapadam (translated), 1924.
(5) Forty Songs of the Rig-Veda, 1914.
(6) Atmabodha, 1923.
(7) Bhagwad Gita (Text in Sanskrit with Introduction and remarks), 1921.

In the Introduction of a Polish Edition of Odyssea (Warsaw), 1935—Prof. Michalski has referred to the relations between the Ramayana and the Odyssea and has pointed out the necessity of studying the Ramayana in connection with research work about Homer.

During the last few years Prof. Michalski has been engaged in bringing out a big Polish Encyclopaedia in which he has written

several articles about India, Indian Language and Literature, Indian Geography, Indian History, etc. Many pictures and a multi-coloured map have been appended to the big article on India.

In 1924, the Professor gave a discourse in Warsaw about the Epic Poetry of India. In 1935, he gave a discourse about a general survey of India before the Warsaw Branch of the Rotary Club.

The Professor has been collecting a library about India during the last few years. The library contains at present over 2,000 books on the Sanskrit Language and Indian Literature, ancient and modern.

As a host, Prof. Michalski was exceedingly hospitable. He treated me to a sumptuous dinner, and as a parting *dakshina* gave me a bundle of his own publications.

It is interesting to know that another Polish Professor, Prof. Stasiak of Lwow, is now on a visit to India. Prof. Stasiak is a well-known Orientalist, and has spoken at several important centres in Europe on Ancient Indian Literature and Philosophy.

The ground has already been prepared for a Polish-Indian Society in Poland—with a corresponding branch in India. All that is wanted now is that somebody should take the lead.

Indians in Germany*

Since the new regime had come into power in Germany, the position of Indians had considerably worsened. The problems were roughly four in number. Firstly, Indian students, including those who had graduated from the German Universities, were finding it difficult to get practical training in German factories. Secondly, anti-Indian propaganda in the press and in films had increased, whereas Pro-Indian Propaganda had been virtually suppressed. Thirdly, the new Race Law threatened to discriminate against all

* Excerpts of speech to Indian Students' Association of Berlin on 4 February 1936.

Asiatics. Fourthly, Germany was selling much more to India than she was buying from India.

Some of these problems might be too big for the Association to tackle, but I hope that the Association would do its best, because there was no other organisation of Indians in Berlin. I further hope that the assistance of Dr K.L. Gangually, the new representative of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Berlin, would be valuable in remedying the trade and allied grievances of India. Already Dr Ganguly had obtained an assurance from the Ministry of Commerce that the grievances of Indian student apprentices would be attended to.

Finally, I regret that the local authorities had banned a meeting called by the Islamic Association to protest against the infamous film *Bengali* and hoped that in future the Indian Colony would not take such official interference lying down.

The Visit to Dublin*

A Note

He (Bose) left Dublin on Wednesday night. However, since writing to you on Monday he had further conversations with the Minister of Agriculture and Lands. He discussed with him his policy of buying up the big estates and dividing them among the peasants. They also discussed its applicability to India. In his talk with the President of Sinn Fein and other officers of that organisation, he discussed with them the national situation in India and Ireland. He was much impressed with the activities of the organisation, though he could not wholly support many of its main features. However, there was a consensus of opinion that contacts between India and Ireland would lead to fruitful results for the two countries in their struggle for independence from foreign imperialism.

* S.C. Bose leaves Ireland (News on S.C. Bose) February 25, 1936.

Being closely associated with trade-unionism, jounalism and literary work, the directors of the *Irish Press*, an organ of the Fianna Fail Party, invited him to the premises. He was received by the Editor and the General Manager. He was impressed with the organisational capacity of those who are responsible for the production of the leading nationalist newspaper. He naturally, in his discussion with the editor, took up the question of the foreign policy of the *Irish Press*. He explained to the Irish journalists the main difficulty of Indian-owned nationalist newspapers and also the Press law under which the freedom of the Press in India was much curtailed.

He demonstrated the traditional Indian courtesy by holding a reception at the Shelbourne Hotel before his departure for Cork. In an address he said that Ireland had interested the people of India for a long time and for many reasons. It was not only from the political side that the Irish movement had interested them. In Ireland he had found interest in India among people of all shades of political opinion. Other speakers included Madame Gonne Mac-Bride, Mrs Woods, Dr Hanningen. Various political and social organisations were also well represented, for we had the opportunity of chatting with Mr T.O'Carroll of the Universities Republican, Miss Marie Comferford, who is women Editor of the *Irish Press*.

A large gathering of Indians and Irish friends of Indian freedom saw him leave Dublin on Wednesday night for Cork from the Baggot Station. On the following day he sailed on the American liner, *President Harding* for Paris. Before leaving Dublin, he had a final talk with Mr Sean T.O'Kelly, the Vice-President of the Executive Council. They discussed the possibility of exchange of University professors between India and the Irish Free State. I am told Mr O'Kelly assured him that he would bear the matter in mind.

I also took the opportunity of chatting with the Indian leader for a few minutes before his departure. I advisedly say that I chatted with the Indian leader and not with the Bengal leader. For, when I happened to mention him to an Irish friend as 'the well-known Bengal leader,' he resented such a suggestion. I did not realise that I was unwittingly responsible for making injustice to him. He said

'Why do you call me a Bengal leader? I am not provincial.' I certainly accept his contention. For the last few years I have had the privilege of reading his speeches and writings and I can safely say that he has always struck me as an Indian patriot first and Bengal patriot last.

When I drew his attention to the gossip that was available in the town of his being watched by certain plainclothes men, with a supreme air of indifference he discounted the same. In his opinion the gossip had no foundation, though many of my Irish friends think otherwise. Incidentally, I must emphasise the fact that although there are a few Irishmen in the pay of the British Government, it does not necessarily follow that an average Irishman is a renegade of his country and all that it stands for in relation with Great Britain. I can recall an incident which took place three years ago. An Indian visitor to Dublin was chased by an Irishman, who later on followed him to London, and communicated to Scotland Yard his whereabouts. On the following morning a representative of Scotland Yard accompanied by this Irish gentleman visited the residence of the Indian with the ostensible object of interrogating him. What amused me on that occasion was the quiet and unnoticed departure of this Indian from London back to Dublin after these two gentlemen had waited for him in vain at his residence for over 24 hours!

Meeting the Press:
Situation in India, India and Germany, League of Nations*

It is difficult to give a definite reply without talking to friends in India. But at this stage I can only say this. I have had long talks with Pandit Nehru during the last few months on the situation in India and our duty towards it. And I feel that both on personal as well as on public grounds I should give him as much co-operation

* Subhas Chandra Bose gave this statement at Geneva in March 1936.

and support as is possible. I feel that the great danger which the Congress will have to face at Lucknow is the rapid descent towards Ultra-Constitutionalism.

In replying to a question about the general European situation he said, 'You must excuse me if today I am not in a mood to discuss this question at length. But I will refer to only one point. During the last few weeks my mind has been greatly disturbed at the insulting remarks made by the German Fuhrer about the Indian People. This is not the first time that India had been insulted by the outstanding leaders of Nazi Germany. It is quite clear that Germany today is determined to curry favour with England by insulting India. I can have no objection if the Germans desire to lick the boots of the Britishers, but if they think that in the year 1936 an insult hurled at India will be quietly pocketed by us, they are sadly mistaken. I am glad to find indications that public opinion in India has already been aroused on this question and I hope that we shall be able to demonstrate that the Indian People can no longer be insulted with impunity.'

The League of Nations

Turning to the League of Nations, Mr Bose said, he was glad that the League was showing some interest in India and had sent out recently the Director of the Information Section, one Mr Pelt, to tour in India and make a report.

'I have information at my disposal that this gentleman is exceedingly unsympathetic towards India. It was this gentleman who had first refused to supply me with information and only when I wrote directly to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations was he forced to give a more satisfactory reply. At present India, while contributing about 200,000 rupees to the League of Nations, has four petty Indian Officials in the International Labour Office and one petty clerk in the League Secretariat. In spite of the fact, that there is a general antipathy towards India in the higher circles of the League, India could be given a better treatment if the heads of department, like Mr Pelt had been less anti-Indian than they actually are. I shall be extremely glad if Mr Pelt turns out to be

friendly towards India, but at the present moment the report I have about him is that he is definitely anti-Indian.'

In the *Times of India* of February 14, I notice that Mr Pelt in an interview with the correspondent of that paper said that one of the objects of his visit to India was to establish contacts with Indian publicists and public men. It sounds all right but your General Correspondent is tempted to ask this question. Did the Director of the Information Section of the League ever bother to meet the prominent Indians who visited Geneva? Did he ever examine the Indian situation seriously and can he tell us what sort of people he really would meet in India?

The Indian Situation and World Opinion*

In the course of his speech he (Bose) said that he was very grateful for being invited to the meeting to discuss the Indian situation, because it was vitally necessary for Indians to acquaint the outside world with the situation in India. 'Since the suspension of Civil Disobedience in India,' he said, 'the movement had apparently "died down", so that the impression has been created abroad that all is quiet on the Indian front. This impression has been strengthened by interested propaganda to the effect that the new Indian Federal Constitution will be of advantage to the Indian people. This impression is absolutely wrong, although it is a fact that passive resistance had been suspended. This does not mean that the Indian National Congress has gone to sleep. It only means that a particular part of Congress' activity has been suspended.

'Congress is still conducting its work, educational and social, with even greater enthusiasm than before. Besides the Indian National Congress, there are other anti-imperialist organisations which are active among the peasants and workers. Therefore, remove from your mind that all is quiet on the Indian front. This can never be the case until we have reached our goal of national independence.

* Address in Paris, 17 March 1936.

'The new constitution has been a great disappointment to India. The Indian National Congress and other organisations have condemned the new constitution, partly because it is unsatisfactory and partly because it makes the situation in India worse. It has introduced new bad factors into the situation so that even the Liberal Federation and other similar organisations which have usually adopted an attitude favourable to the British Government, have condemned the constitution in the strongest manner possible. Therefore, there is hardly any party left in India which does not condemn the constitution. We are in fact today in exactly the same position in India as we were at the end of the war when Mahatma Gandhi launched his campaign.

'I welcome the opportunity given to me to address you here tonight because there is a growing feeling in India that the anti-imperialist movement there should be linked up with the anti-imperialist movements in other parts of the world. Modern communications have made it easier to establish this contact and we must take advantage of this. We have not been able to set up a machinery to preserve such contact at present, but it is generally recognised in India that political phenomena like imperialism and Fascism affect all humanity. Therefore, we believe that if we lay India's case before the world, we shall get sympathy and support from all over the world. The sympathy we get is not because we have asked for it—it is given spontaneously. If we can make India's position known to the world we shall be rendering services to the world.

'The Indian movement can be analysed under two aspects. 1) the aspect of national liberation. This aspiration is understood by freedom lovers all over the world. 2) the endeavour to create a new social order on the basis of social justice.

'It is difficult to see the form the new social order will take. We who are fighting for national freedom are not out to hand over our country to a small group of landowners. We are not fighting to substitute a brown bureaucracy for a white bureaucracy. We want to inaugurate a new social order where men will be free; caste, sex and wealth distinction must be abolished.

'If it is difficult to free India from imperialism, it is also difficult

to create a new social order there. Socialism has been understood in different ways in different countries. We want a new society in which man-made divisions will disappear. If India's case can be presented in the proper way to humanity, we should undoubtedly receive much sympathy.

'For those who are interested particularly in the anti-imperialist movement all over the world, India must be of special interest. We in India feel that we have been largely responsible for the creation of the British Empire. Without India, what would be the value of the British Empire? We have therefore begun to feel in India that we are partly responsible for the creation of the British Empire. India has undoubtedly been a help to imperialism all over the world. The role which we are called upon to play is an important and difficult one. The cause which concerns India is one which concerns the whole of humanity.

'There is another aspect of the Indian question. Many are concerned at the rapid expansion of Japanese imperialism in Asia. It is necessary for us to think of the means of preventing the growth of Japanese imperialism in Asia. If tomorrow China could be strong and unified, if tomorrow India could be free, I am sure it would influence the balance of power in Asia and serve to check the spread of Japanese imperialism. It is therefore our duty to support the Anti-imperialist movements in Asia, China and India. To check Japan will strengthen the anti-imperialist movements all over the world.

'A few words about the future of our movement in India. There is a belief abroad that the influence of Gandhi has died down. If I were to interpret the modern situation in an objective manner I should say that M. Gandhi has not lost his influence.

'Within the Nationalist Party there is criticism of his tactics, but this does not mean that he has lost his popularity. The private life of Gandhi has enhanced his reputation. I have referred to some of the criticisms made within the National Party of Gandhi's political mistakes. The feeling is growing that the Nationalist Party should make its position clear with regard to the social question. Our movement aims not only at National liberation, but also at social freedom. It is now felt more than before that our country is

faced with the issues of the landlords and the peasants and capital and labour. The feeling is growing that the Indian National Congress should declare itself more explicitly on the side of the masses. The net result so far, of this criticism, has been that within the Nationalist Party people are beginning to think more on the social question—we are moving in the direction of socialism. Within the Nationalist Party there are two different wings; if one group were to take an attitude hostile towards these social demands, a cleavage would develop.'

He expressed the hope that Gandhi would continue to advocate social reconstruction in India. If India can work out in her own way her national and social emancipation, this will be important to the outside world. He said that he had purposely avoided going into details of the Indian question and had endeavoured to give a broad outline of the situation connected with the world background.

Impressions of Ireland*

I am grateful to President De Valera for the permit to visit the Irish Free State and thereby fulfill a long-cherished desire of mine—and also for the warm and cordial reception I received at his hand in Dublin. It was the desire and command of the late Mr V.J. Patel that I should visit Dublin before returning home and attempt to revive the activities of the Indian Irish League which he had helped to found. I hope that my visit to Ireland has served some useful purpose in that direction.

While in Ireland I endeavoured to meet as many parties and personalities as I possibly could in order to get a correct picture of the social and political life of the country. I believe I have learned much that will be useful and interesting to us in India.

In the Parliament (Dail) the majority party is President De

* S.C. Bose's statement on impressions about Ireland in Lausanne on Monday, 30 March 1936.

Valera's Fianna Fail which has also the support of the Labour Party led by Mr Norton. The opposition party is Mr Cosgrave's 'Fine Geel' Party. Mr Cosgrave's party has many fine speakers and able debaters but the country as a whole is behind 'Fianna Fail'—because Mr Cosgrave's party is looked upon as a Pro-British Party and practically all the old unionists support it. Mr Cosgrave's party has been weakened by the defection of General O'Duffy, the organiser of the Blue-Shirts, who has founded the National Corporate Party on Fascist lines. This has naturally strengthened the position of 'Fianna Fail' in the country.

The only unfortunate feature in Irish politics today is the breach between 'Fianna Fail' and the Republicans. The Republicans allege that President De Valera is not moving towards a Republic which he had promised and that his Government is persecuting the Republicans, 25 of whom have been put in prison. The feeling of the Government is that the Republicans are too impatient and tactless and are blind to the realities of the situation—namely the existence of a Pro-British Party in the country and a partitioned Ireland in actual existence—which make it difficult if not impossible to declare a Republic at once. The members of the 'Fianna Fail' Party affirm it, but that the actual declaration of it must depend on several factors or conditions. On the whole, the existence of a Republican Party independent of the Government Party is in my opinion a blessing. It is a guarantee that 'Fianna Fail' will never forget its republican aims—for if it does, then the people will withdraw their support. I would only have liked to see a more cordial relationship between 'Fianna Fail' and the Republicans—such as existed when President De Valera first came to power in 1932. But people and difference of opinion soon led to estrangement of feeling among them.

Besides having prolonged discussions with Mr De Valera, I met individually most of the 'Fianna Fail' ministers. All of them are exceedingly sympathetic, accessible and humane. They had not yet become 'respectable'. Most of them had been on the run when they were fighting for their freedom and would be shot at sight if they had been spotted. They had not yet [become] hardened bureaucratic ministers and there was no official atmosphere about them. With

the Minister for Lands I discussed how they were abolishing landlordism by buying up the big estates and dividing the land among the peasantry. With the Minister for Agriculture I discussed how they were trying to make the country self-sufficient in the matter of food supply. It was interesting to know that wheat and sugar-beet were now being cultivated in large areas and the development of agriculture was making the country less dependent on cattle-rearing and therefore less dependent on the English market. I also discussed with him the question of restriction of jute-cultivation in India and he gave me valuable suggestions as to how he would tackle the problem if he were put in charge. With the Minister for Industries I discussed the industrial policy of the Government. He explained to me that they wanted to make the country self-sufficient, not only in agriculture but also in industry. This would make for the economic prosperity of the country and at the same time make them less vulnerable, should they have to face economic reprisals in the future. A colossal amount of work had already been done within a few years to build up new industries which appreciating all that the Government had done and were doing for industrial regeneration, I felt that possibly they could have gone in for more state-enterprise in the sphere of industrial revival. On the whole I found that the work of the 'Fianna Fail' ministers was of interest and value to us in India when we would have to tackle the problems of nation-building through the machinery of the state.

There was so much to learn in Ireland and my stay was so short—I was surprised that so few of our countrymen who spend years in England ever care to go over to Ireland which is next door. Ireland is quite a different world from England.

I was agreeably surprised to find that all the Irish parties were equally sympathetic towards India and her desire for freedom regardless of their own internal differences. I was glad to do some publicity on behalf of India while I was there. At several receptions and public meetings, I was asked to talk about present-day conditions in India and about our fight for freedom. Outside their own shores the two countries which interested them most were India and Egypt.

30 March 1936

Liberty and the New Constitution

Letter to the Editor, Manchester Guardian, 2 April 1936

Sir,

The other day I received a letter from the British Consul in Vienna which runs thus:

12 March 1936

Sir,

I have today received instructions from the Secretary of Sate for Foreign Affairs to communicate to you a warning that the Government of India have seen in the Press statements that you propose to return to India this month and the Government of India desire to make clear to you that should you do so you cannot expect to remain at liberty.

I am s.c.

J.W. Taylor
His Majesty's Consul

I was arrested on January 2, 1932 in India and detained in prison till February 22, 1933 without any trial. Though I repeatedly asked for it, I was never informed of the charge or complaint which the Government of India had against me. When I fell seriously ill and several medical boards appointed by the Government to examine me recommended that I should either be released or allowed to proceed to Europe for treatment, the Government of India permitted me to sail for Europe and withdrew the order of detention. I have been in Europe virtually for the last three years. Only once have I been in India during this period—namely in December, 1934, when I went to see my dying father and stayed there for six weeks. During my brief stay in India I was made a prisoner in my house.

I now want to go home and I am served with this official threat.

My last imprisonment was bad enough, legally and ethically. But the proposed imprisonment, in the event of my returning to India now, beats all records. May I ask if this is how British law is going to be administered in India and if this is a foretaste of the expanded liberty which the new constitution will usher in?

Yours s.c.

Subhas Chandra Bose
(President, Bengal Congress Committee)

Kurhaus Hochland
Badgastein, Austria
17 March

The Punjab*

6 October 1936

If Congress does not rally people under its banner, communal organisations, like the Muslim League, will make a headway in the province. The Congress could give the Punjab a Congress majority in the legislature in five years hence but will they do so?

Want of Generosity

What strikes me as a friendly observer is that in the top- most rank of Congress leadership in the province there is want of generosity and largeheartedness. To unite the Congress Party, the Punjab must have a leader or leaders who will have breadth of vision and largeness of heart to rise above groups and actions and stand for the people as a whole. With a rank and file which is radical in outlook and sound at heart, the Congress can come to its own in the Punjab in no time if only leaders will rise to the occasion.

* Statement to the Press before leaving the Punjab, 6 October 1936.

Through Congress Eyes

Of the eleven provinces in British India, there is now an absolute or a virtual congress majority in the Legislatures of seven, viz., the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, Madras Presidency, Bombay Presidency, and the Frontier Province. The Congress Party has Accordingly taken over the reins of Government in these provinces. In Assam, the Government is in the unenviable position of being repeatedly challenged and defeated in the Assembly, but nevertheless it is not yet in a mood to resign. The Bengal Legislature in a case of 'Much bruit, little fruit.'

Public attention has up till now been focussed entirely on the six provinces where the Congress has a clear majority. But I maintain that the 'Minority' provinces demand greater attention on the part of the Congress High Command.

Now let us enquire as to why the Congress failed in these provinces.

The position in the Frontier Province is easily understandable. The terrible repression in that province ever since the exile of the leader, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and his worthy brother, Dr Khan Sahib were responsible for the temporary demoralisation of the Congress Party there. Otherwise, the Congress Party would undoubtedly have come out with a thumping majority. With the returns of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan to his province the position has altered for the better even at this late hour. The 'Minority' Congress party has converted itself into a majority with the help of alliances, thus enabling the Congress Party to step into office, with Dr Khan Sahib, as the Premier. There is no doubt that within a short time, the Congress Party in the Frontier Province will come into its own, for the Frontier Muslims are as good Congress men as can be found anywhere else in India.

Sindh is perhaps the most difficult case to deal with from the Congress point of view. Muslims constitute about 74 per cent of the population. It is clear, therefore, that until the Muslims join the Congress enthusiastically, as in the adjoining Frontier Province there can be no hope of Congress majority in Sindh. But will that ever be possible? Why not? The present leaders of the two Muslim

parties in the Sindh Legislature are representatives of the landed aristocracy. They can never be the real leaders of the masses. If the Congress Party in Sindh can shed its Bourgeois character and convert itself into a peasant's party, the Congress can sweep the polls in that province. If this is not done, a non-congress peasant's party will emerge, as it has done in Bengal, and the Congress movement will suffer a definite set-back in consequence.

In the Punjab, the Muslims constitute about 56 per cent of the population but in an Assembly of 175 members they have 86 seats and the Hindus and Sikhs together have 75. If the Congress Party had been strong, then it could have commanded a majority, provided a section of the Muslims had joined it. But the difficulty is a twofold one. Among the Muslim members the Ministerial party (The Unionists) has overwhelming support. And the Congress party is weakened by internal dissensions, while the Sikhs have been pulling in a different direction. If the Congress party can sink its petty squabbles and adopt a radical economic programme which appeals to the masses, regardless of their religious denomination, the Congress Party can still emerge as the dominant political party in the province. Will that be possible? It is difficult to say. The task is an uphill one and much will depend on the quality of leadership which the province will throw up.

Poor Assam has suffered owing to its proximity to Bengal. The number of general seats (Hindu) has been cut down to 55 in an Assembly of 108 members, while the so-called backward areas and tribes have been given 9 seats and the vested interests 11 seats, largely for the benefit of the European planters. The motive behind the Communal Award (rather Decision) in so far as it related to Assam and Bengal, was to make it impossible for the Congress party to get a majority in these two provinces (vide Sir Samuel Hoare's speech in the House of Commons on the 27th March 1933). Nevertheless, in Assam at least, the Congress Party could have won a majority, but for a fortuitous combination of circumstances. The defection of the erstwhile leader of the Assam Congress, Sjt. T.R. Phookan, damaged the Party and the position was worsened by the untimely death of Sjt. N.C. Bardoloi who had succeeded to the leadership. During the election, Assam was completely neglected

by the Congress High Command while other provinces like the U.P. came in for a great deal of attention. The future for Assam is far from gloomy—if only the higher authorities of the Congress give some attention to this province. Even now the present ministry is so unstable that it may be bundled out of office any day. In that event, a coalition ministry, with the Congress as the dominant partner, may step in. But it is to be regretted that during the lifetime of the present Legislature the Congress Party will have to remain in a minority.

And Bengal? The position there is hopeless. With a population of over 44 per cent the Hindus have 80 seats in an Assembly of 250 (with 30 seats reserved for the scheduled castes) while the Muslims have 119. The Vested interests, Europeans and Anglo-Indians have collared as many as 39 seats, Under the present constitution, or rather under the present communal arrangement, the future for the Congress Party in the Bengal Legislature is very dark.

Bút are we to throw up our hands in despair? That would not be a sign of statesmanship or patriotism. We have to 'radicalise' the Congress and so identify with the interests of the masses as to make it a real mass organisation. Only thus can we cut across communal divisions and frustrate the intentions of the constitution-mongers at Simla and Whitehall. The future for the Bengal Congress lies in converting it into the one organ of the Bengal peasantry. In that event Congress will once again emerge as the majority party in the Province.

This should have been done five years ago. But better late than never.

India Abroad

I think it was the late Deshbandhu C.R. Das, who first opened my eyes to the necessity of making India known in other countries. The occasion for this was the drafting of a new scheme of work for the Swaraj Party which the late Deshbandhu and the late Pandit

Motilal Nehru launched at Allahabad in February, 1923. Discussions regarding the new scheme of work had begun as early as April, 1922, when we were all in prison. There were two items in the Deshbandhu's schemes on which he was personally very keen, but which did not evoke much enthusiasm at the time, because public attention was drawn towards the capture of legislatures and local bodies. These two items were—Indian propaganda in foreign countries and the organisation of a pan-Asiatic League.

Several years elapsed before my interest in the question of Indian propaganda abroad was once again stirred up. Early in 1928, when I was in Calcutta I was interviewed by an American journalist (I forget his name at the moment). In the course of our conversation he describe in vivid colours how China had managed to capture the imagination of the whole civilized world. According to him, India should also contrive to put herself before the world's eye. How that could be done, was a question of method for Indians to decide but the need was an imperative one in India's own interest. Two other factors have helped to deepen my conviction that Indian propaganda abroad is absolutely necessary for India's progress—1) my experiences in Europe during the last two years and 2) my study of History. During the last two years I have travelled through many countries in Europe. Everywhere there is a colossal ignorance about India—but at the same time there is a general feeling of sympathy for, and interest in, India. This sympathy can easily be enlarged and developed, if necessary steps are taken from our side. But while we are quite indifferent to this question, missionaries and other 'civilizing agencies' are not inactive. For several decades they have painted India as a land where widows are burnt, girls are married at the age of 5 or 6 and people are virtually unacquainted with the art of dressing. I remember vividly that when I was in England in 1920, I was one day passing a lecture-hall in front of which there was a pictorial advertisement of a lecture to be delivered by a missionary about India. In that advertisement, there were pictures of some half-naked men and women of the blackest complexion, possessing the ugliest features. Ostensibly the lecturer wanted to raise funds for his 'civilizing' work in India and was therefore painting India in this light, without the slightest compunction.

Towards the end of 1933, a German journalist who claimed to have visited India recently, wrote in a Munich paper that she had seen widows being burnt in India and dead bodies lying uncared for in the streets of Bombay. Recently in a Vienna pictorial paper (*Wiener Bilder*, dated the 30th June) a picture of a dead body covered with insects was printed and there was a footnote saying that it was the corpse of a 'Sadhu' which could not be removed for several days because of the Hindu belief that the dead body of a 'Sadhu' should not be removed by ordinary men. What surprises me is the careful selection of pictures about India made by propagandists in Europe with a view to depicting India in the worst colours possible. This is as much true of pictorial magazines as of films. Regarding the anti-Indian propaganda conducted by films like 'India Speaks' and 'Bengali'—there has been some exposure in India already and I need not dilate on it. But I am afraid there has not been sufficient exposure of the mischief which is being done by the film 'Everybody Loves Music,' in which Mahatma Gandhi appears in his own dress, dancing with a European girl.

If this sort of propaganda goes on in other countries, is it to be wondered at that Indians should be called 'Blackie'—as it happens sometimes in England—or as 'Neger' (negro—as is the experience sometimes in Germany? In such circumstances, what should be our reaction? The first and easier course would be to shut our eyes. The other and more difficult course would be to start our own propaganda. I remember talking to a Turkish diplomat in 1933 on the question of foreign propaganda. I complained that there was no literature on modern Turkey meant for foreigners, written by Turks themselves. By way of self-defence, he said, that the Turks did not believe in propaganda (this is not wholly true because the Turks also are beginning their propaganda). I doubt if any other country in this age of propaganda, would have attempted to justify its lack of propaganda. In any case, so far as Europe is concerned, propaganda is now regarded as one of the normal and legitimate activities of a Government. Of the European countries, England and Russia are past-masters in the art of propaganda—with Italy and Germany coming next. Of the Asiatic countries, China is at present most active in her foreign propaganda. The New World has generally

been indifferent to propaganda in the Old World—but I believe that the League of Nations is now helping to bridge the Atlantic Ocean. In 1934, when I was in Geneva, I happened to come into touch with a number of South Americans and I realized that even the south American States were anxious to carry on propaganda in Europe.

I said towards the beginning that two factors helped to deepen my conviction that Indian propaganda abroad was absolutely necessary for our national advancement: 1) my experiences in Europe and 2) my study of History. Regarding the second, I may say that the study of the history of those countries that have won their freedom in recent years will reveal the importance of this work. I hope my readers are aware of the extensive propaganda conducted in the United States of America by the Sinn Fein Party in 1920 and 1921. The Party sent their best man—no less a man than their President, Mr de Valera—to organize and conduct this propaganda. The Party had also centres of propaganda on the Continent. The most important and interesting example of foreign propaganda is, however, furnished by the Czech leaders. For 20 years, Dr Masaryk, Dr Benes and others carried on a steady and sustained propaganda in different countries, especially England, France and the United States. Only after two decades could the harvest be reaped—and it will now be admitted on all hands that without the sympathy and support of England, France and the United States, Czechoslovakia would not have come into existence as an independent State.

It is not the enslaved countries alone that carry on a systematic propaganda. Even independent countries have now taken to it. countries like Hungary in Europe and China in Asia that have a national grievance set store by foreign propaganda. Hungary today hopes to secure a peaceful revision of her present frontiers which have been defined by the Treaty of Trianon, which she regards as unjust and iniquitous. She is therefore spending large sums of money for winning international sympathy and support for her cause. China has recently launched an extensive scheme of propaganda in Europe with Geneva as her headquarters. There they have taken a Villa and fitted up a Chinese Library for the use of all those who desire to study anything about China. The Society

publishes literature in French and English for propagating Chinese culture in Europe. They have taken another house in Geneva where they have periodic exhibitions. In 1934 they had an exhibition of adults' paintings which was a great success. After the Geneva Exhibition, the pictures were sent to other European capitals and similar exhibitions were held there. In April, 1935 when I visited Geneva again, they were holding an exhibition of children's paintings and I was informed that the exhibition would be sent round to other European capitals in succession. Any one visiting such an exhibition would come back with an impression that the Chinese are a highly gifted and cultured people. In November, 1935, an art exhibition was held in Burlington House in London and a ship-load of Chinese art treasure is being brought to London for the purpose. I cannot help remarking in this connection that through her steady and continued propaganda, China has been able to win sympathy of the whole civilized world. This was evident during the Sino-Japaṇese dispute over Manchukuo, when China won the support of the League of Nations, in spite of the best efforts of Japan. That China was not able to utilize fully this hard-won support was due to her military weakness. Nevertheless the Chinese people have realized the value of propaganda so much that they have now launched an extensive scheme. Though this scheme is backed by the Nanking Government, a large portion of the funds comes from private individuals.

Even independent countries that have no national grievance devote much attention and money to foreign propaganda. They generally have a twofold aim, cultural and commercial. They desire, on the one hand, to make their culture known to other countries and on the other to develop more trade with them. The propaganda conducted by the British is, in my opinion, more effective than that of other countries, because it is more natural and scientific. The British method of propaganda is roughly as follows:

1) News agencies like * * * carry on a subtle propaganda in favour of Great Britain through the manipulation of everyday news.

2) Britishers make it a point to attend every International Congress which is held in any part of the world.

3) In every country, special societies exist for developing friendly

relations with that country. For example, in Vienna there is a Society called the Anglo-Austrian Friends. Similar organizations exist in every country in Europe and America and all these Societies have corresponding organizations in Great Britain.

4) A large number of Britishers representing different walks of life go abroad every year to lecture on different aspects of British culture. In this work, British artists play an important role.

5) Foreigners and foreign students are invited to visit Great Britain. In some cases foreign students are given scholarships.

6) There are numerous international Societies like the Quakers, the All-Peoples Association, etc., which have their headquarters in London and branches all over Europe—through whose medium a very subtle propaganda is carried on in favour of Great Britain. These Societies generally have a stock of English books in their libraries.

7) In almost every important city of Europe there is an English-speaking Club. These clubs are invariably centres of propaganda.

8) Books, etc., about Great Britain are published in every language.

The above propaganda is carried on mostly by non-official agencies, in addition to the official propaganda conducted through Embassies and Consulates. British propaganda is not obtrusive and people for whom it is meant, hardly realize that a conscious propaganda is going on. Where it is more overt as in the case of Miss Mayo's 'Mother India' or the film 'Bengali'—it is conducted through the medium of a third party, so that no one can say that *Britishers* are behind it. As compared with this, German propaganda is crude and obtrusive and it therefore sometimes defeats its own purpose.

During the last two years I have realised from time to time how very sensitive the British people are to any propaganda that is not in keeping with their requirements. One would ordinarily expect such a powerful nation as the British to be quite indifferent to what other people may think or say about them. But the exact contrary is the case. Here I am reminded of the extraordinary step taken by the British Ambassador in Belgrade in June, 1934, in requesting the Foreign Office to stop the Yugo-Slavian papers from publishing

interviews with me. I am also reminded of the wrath of Sir Walter Smiles, M.P., over a speech that I made in Geneva in September, 1933 (Sir Walter Smiles wanted that I should be put in prison on my return to India because of this speech. When I asked him to correct any mis-statements that I might have made therein, he did not reply). Because of her ultra-sensitiveness to foreign opinion, Great Britain is now taking steps to strengthen her propaganda abroad. Recently a Society, called the 'British Council of Relations with foreign countries' has been started with H.R.H. the Prince of Wales as its patron, for carrying on pro-British propaganda in other countries. Addressing His Royal Highness on the 2nd July, 1935, the Chairman, Lord Tyrell, said that the Society has been started at the instance of the Foreign Office and with the active collaboration of five Government Departments—while the Government Treasury had made a grant of £ 6,000. *The Daily Telegraph* of London, while giving its whole-hearted support to this endeavour, wrote on the 3rd July as follows:

'Now France and Italy each budget one million pounds a year for national "propaganda and prestige". Japan has recently budgeted one hundred thousand pounds for similar purposes during the coming year and the vast resources of the German Ministry of propaganda are being expended outside the Reich no less than within. Funds on a much larger scale than £ 6,000, though not necessarily Government funds, are necessary if we are to take similar interest in making ourselves known.'

Coming to India, the question is—what should we do? I am sorry to say in this connection that among the older generation I find a complete lack of appreciation of the utility of Indian propaganda abroad. The opinion expressed by Mr Bhulabhai Desai and the Editor of *Indian Social Reformer* are typical of what the older generation think. The views of the Congress President, Sjt. Rajendra Prasad, are somewhat more progressive. He welcomes such propaganda, but regrets that the Congress does not possess sufficient means to undertake this work. One is, therefore, left with the feeling that the older generation regard this work as a superfluous luxury and not as an indispensable necessity. If they had

regarded it as a necessity, they would certainly have procured funds for it.

Of the Indian leaders, the late Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel was the only one who had a full appreciation of the utility of foreign propaganda and a clear conception as to how it should be carried on. It is no exaggeration to say that in the cause of this propaganda he laid down his precious life. It was his American friends of India, he returned with the conviction that the Indian National Congress should have a permanent representative in the United States. This suggestion was duly conveyed to Mahatma Gandhi. The late Sjt. Vithalbhai was of opinion that for our propaganda work, we should have our headquarters in Geneva with branches all over Europe and America. One such branch he was able to start during his lifetime in Dublin, under the name of the Indo-Irish League. His journey to Geneva about a month before his sad and premature death, was for the purpose of preparing the ground for a centre there—but fate prevented him from accomplishing this work.

If foreign propaganda be necessary for independent countries as well as for those who fight for their freedom with arms—it is an absolute necessity for countries like India that have discarded the method of physical force and armed revolution. To such a peaceful and constitutional activity, the British Government, too, can have no objection. We have every right to mobilize world-sympathy on our side in an open and peaceful manner and the British Government have indirectly recognized this right by sponsoring India's membership of the League of Nations, which implies that India has all the rights of a full-fledged nation.

There may be a feeling in certain quarters that foreign propaganda must in all probability be something of a secret or revolutionary or Anti-British character. But such an impression, if it exists anywhere, is altogether without foundation. Propaganda, by its very nature, must be open and above board and propaganda methods are inherently opposed to secret and revolutionary methods. Moreover, this propaganda should not be anti-British but only pro-Indian. I have had some experience of propaganda in Europe and I am definitely of opinion that the moment we attempt anti-British propaganda, we shall defeat our purpose. The British have

a vast machinery for their propaganda—including Embassies, Consulates and numerous non-official Associations with which they can counteract our activities. Moreover, if we begin to attack the British, we shall lose sympathy instead of gaining it. On the other hand, as long as we carry on pro-Indian propaganda, our appeal will be irresistible. And if the British try to thwart our legitimate propaganda, they will automatically put themselves in the wrong and forfeit sympathy everywhere.

In my opinion, Indian propaganda abroad should have the following objectives:

1) To counteract false propaganda about India.
2) To enlighten the world about the true conditic ns obtaining in India today.
3) To acquaint the world with the positive achievements of the Indian people in every sphere of human activity.

The last objective is the most important, because if we can give the world a good idea of our culture and civilization, we shall automatically dispel false notions regarding the Indian people, raise the status of India in the eyes of the civilized world and obtain sympathy everywhere.

To accomplish this threefold purpose, the following steps, among others, may be taken:

1) Indians should be induced to attend every International Congress.
2) Articles about India should be written in foreign newspapers and journals.
3) Books about India should be published in the different languages of Europe and America.
4) There should be at least one well-equipped library in some central place in Europe to which reference could be made by all those who are interested in India.
5) Prominent Indians representing different aspects of Indian culture should regularly travel abroad.
6) Films about India should be exhibited abroad.
7) Lectures on India with the help of magic lantern slides should be organized in foreign countries.

8) Foreign scholars should be invited to India and they should be helped to make contact with the best type of Indians.
9) In every country, mixed Societies of Indians and nationals of that country, should be organized for developing closer cultural relations with India. Every such Society should have a corresponding organization in India. An instance of the first is the Indo-Czechoslovakian Society.
10) Such mixed Societies should also be formed everywhere for fostering closer commercial relations between India and other countries. (An instance of this is the Indian-Central European Society of Vienna.) Corresponding organizations should be started in India.
11) Mixed Chambers of Commerce (*e.g.*, Indo-Czecho-Slovak Chamber of Commerce, Indo-Italian Chamber of Commerce, Indo-Austrian Chamber of commerce, etc.) should be organized in every important Capital. Corresponding Chambers of Commerce should be started in India. Such mixed Chambers of Commerce exist in every European country. India alone has not yet realized the importance of this.
12) Regular assistance should be given to such bodies as the international Committee for India in Geneva which have so far been working independently. There are several organizations of this sort in Europe and America. Some sort of co-ordination should be established among such Societies.

The impression that has been created in many circles all over the world as a result of prolonged hostile propaganda is that we are an uncivilized people—that our women are enslaved and that we are not a nation, as our Society is seething with dissensions. Can we shut ourselves up in a room and remain indifferent to what the world thinks of us? We cannot. For good or for ill, we are forced by modern circumstances to share the common life of humanity. We cannot therefore be indifferent to what the outside world thinks of us. Moreover, we can see with our own eyes what other nations are achieving through a course of systematic propaganda. History

further teaches us that for enslaved and suppressed nations—especially for those that eschew the path of violence—the sympathy of the civilized world is absolutely necessary and in order to win that sympathy, propaganda has to be undertaken. Distinguished Indians, like Swami Vivekananda, Dr Rabindra Nath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi have in the past done a certain amount of propaganda abroad and their work has been supplemented by foreign friends of India. As a result of this, India still has a reputation for an ancient culture and civilization. But if we are to make further progress, it is indispensably necessary that a systematic propaganda, backed by the Indian people, should be undertaken. There are Indians abroad who are determined to do this work with the limited resources at their disposal. The only question is whether the Indian National Congress will take charge of this all-important work and do it in a more effective and efficient manner.

Fifty Years of Indo-British Trade (1875–1925)

One of the most remarkable facts in connection with the growth of the foreign trade of India is that the percentage share of the United Kingdom has almost continuously been on the decline for the last fifty years or more, though the actual amount of Indo-British trade has shown very great development. This means that the progress of Indo-British trade has shown very great development. This means that the progress of Indo-British trade has not kept pace with that of our total trade; in other words, trade with non-British countries has grown at a faster rate than that with Great Britain. Till the middle of the 19th century, the growth of one foreign commerce was practically synonymous with the development in our trade with the United Kingdom.

It lies beyond the scope of the present article to trace the beginnings of our commerce with Great Britain which led to her occupying the almost monopolistic position in India's foreign

trade.* The subsequent developments have been in the direction of a gradual divergence of both our imports and exports from the United Kingdom to other countries, especially the Continental countries of Europe, and to U.S.A. and Japan with the result as noted above. The following figures are illustrative of the fact:

Percentage Share of U.K. in the Total Trade of India

1875–76	62.2
1880–81	58.7
1890–91	50.9
1900–91	45.1
1905–06	42.9
1910–11	39.1
1915–16	47.4[1]
1920–21	41.8
1925–26	32.1

[1] During the War period, a temporary stimulus was given to Indo-British trade by the large exports of Indian raw materials for the manufacture of munitions.

This decline in the percentage share of the United Kingdom has been more marked in our export trade. It is true that the share of Great Britain has always been larger in our imports than in our exports; but smaller as the volume of exports has been, its decline has still been relatively more marked than that of imports, as the following figures will reveal:

Percentage Share of U.K. in India's Import and Export Trade

	Import	*Export*
1875–76	83.0	48.3
1880–81	82.8	41.6
1890–91	76.4	32.7

* For this earlier history of Indo-British trade, good accounts will be found in Dr Balkrishna's *Commercial Relations* between India and England and Prof. C.J. Hamilton's *Trade Relations between England and India.*

	Import	*Export*
1900–01	65.6	30.7
1905–06	68.5	25.1
1910–11	62.1	24.8
1915–16	60.4	38.1
1920–21	58.8	19.4
1925–26	50.9	21.0

In our imports, Great Britain continued to retain more than half the total trade and occupied by far the most important position, the share of the country coming next after her, namely, Japan, being only 8 per cent in 1925–26. But as a consumer of Indian goods, she had long ceased to hold a similar position. Japan and the U.S.A. followed her at close quarters, the percentage shares of U.K., Japan and the U.S.A. in India's export trade being respectively 21.0, 15.0 and 10.4 in the year 1925–26.

II

The causes of this decline in the percentage share of the United Kingdom in India's foreign trade are not far to seek. The pre-eminence of that country in the earlier days was due to a number of peculiar facilities which she enjoyed in her relations with India.* She was politically supreme in this country. Our trade had to depend almost entirely on British shipping; most of the exporting and importing firms were British concerns; so were the exchange banks and insurance companies. The railways of India were mostly built up with British capital and conducted by British companies who furthered the interests of British commerce.** Many of the agricultural industries (some of them with British capital) were initiated and developed with a view to supplying the British market (*e.g.*, tea, coffee).

* Cf. Dr S.G. Panandikar's *Economic Consequences of the War for India*, pp. 66–7; also Prof. R.M. Joshi's *Indian Export Trade*, pp. 160–1 and 164.

** Incidentally, the growth of railways stimulated imports from U.K. as all the materials for railway construction were purchased from there.

The agricultural policy of the Government was also directed to the encouragement of the cultivation of such raw materials and foodgrains as jute, cotton, wheat and oilseeds with the object of stimulating their export to Britain. On the other hand, the United Kingdom was the foremost industrial country of the world, supplying most of the demands of India for manufactured goods, in some of which (*e.g.*, cotton manufactures) the imports were directly encouraged by the tariff legislation of the Government of India, indirectly restricting the growth of those manufacturing industries in India that were likely to hinder the progress of our import trade with that country.

The preponderance of the United Kingdom in our foreign trade was, therefore, the outcome of a combination of two causes; the political and economic subordination of India to that country, and the industrial supremacy of Great Britain among the countries of the world.

Subsequently, direct trade connections came to be established with almost all the important countries of the world; and with the gradual progress of trade with them, Britain's share has steadily declined. This growth of Indian trade with non-British countries was no doubt made possible by the free trade policy pursued by the British Government in relation to the Indian market. The specific reasons will be found in the fact that while in the first half of the 19th century, the United Kingdom was the only great industrial country, the subsequent industrial developments in countries like Germany, U.S.A., and Japan have resulted in larger quantities of manufactured goods being imported from them, mostly at the expense of Great Britain.

On the other hand, these industrially developed countries have found in India a veritable storehouse of raw materials with which to foster their manufacturing industries. But the keen competition which they had to meet in capturing the Indian market from British hands for their own commodities was absent in the case of the purchase of raw materials from India. For, while the progress in our imports from other countries was being fought against and restricted at every step by Britain, India could sell her raw produce to any country which offered her the best price. It was, therefore,

comparatively easier for the non-British countries to show greater developments in consuming Indian goods than in replacing British imports by their own manufactures.

Hence, with the economic advancement of non-British countries and the establishment of commercial relations with them, our trade was diverted more and more towards these countries.

III

From the above, it should not be supposed that there was an actual decline in the amount of Indo-British trade. On the other hand, the United Kingdom showed the greatest progress in the net addition to the amount of trade transacted between India and any other country, as the following figures will indicate:

Indo-British Trade: Value in Lakhs of Rupees

	Exports to the U.K.	*Imports from the U.K.*	*Total amount of the Indo-British trade*
1875–76	2809	3228	6037
1880–81	3105	4403	7508
1890–91	3227	5502	8779
1900–01	3205	5310	8516
1905–06	4070	7685	11755
1910–11	5224	8311	13533
1915–16	7600	8352	15952
1920–21	5297	20460	25757
1925–26	8097	11532	19629

Thus, during the period 1875–76 to 1925–26, the amount of our trade with Britain increased by about 136 crores of rupees, an amount which was in itself greater than that transacted with any other country. The gradual decline in the percentage share of the United Kingdom was, therefore, due to her inability to keep pace with the general growth of India's total trade, the extent of which can further be gauged from the following index numbers:

	Total Indian trade	*Indo-British trade*
1875–76	100	100
1880–81	131	124
1890–91	177	145
1900–01	194	141
1905–06	282	194
1910–11	354	224
1915–16	348	264
1920–21	634	426
1925–26	630	325

As has already been observed, the preponderance of Great Britain has been more complete in India's import trade. This has been reflected in the fact that our total imports have shown identical movements with those from the United Kingdom. Fluctuations in the imports from that country in either direction have invariably been followed by similar fluctuations in our total imports. This has, however, not been the case with the exports which have shown contrary movements in some particular years to those from the United Kingdom. This is, of course, due to the exports to Britain being only a fraction of our total exports. But the supremacy of that country has been so complete in India's import trade that irrespective of the developments with other countries, our total imports have in every year moved along with those from Britain.

The outstanding article of importance that has contributed to the bulk of our import trade with Great Britain is cotton manufactures. England is the greatest cotton manufacturing country in the world, and India has been her best customer. Indeed, India occupies the foremost place among countries importing cotton piece-goods. This single article has represented more than 50 per cent of India's total imports from the United Kingdom.

The other articles of importance are metals, machinery and mill-work, and railway plant and rolling-stock. Each of these amounted to more than ten crores of rupees in the latest years of the period under study. Besides these, there is a host of other minor

articles. The bulk is, however, made up of cotton goods, metals and manufactures thereof, and the progress of Indo-British trade has been mainly limited to these commodities.

Besides the facts that the exports to Britain have represented a smaller value than the imports therefrom and that the progress in them has been slower than in the latter, there is another point of contrast to be noted. On the import side, cotton goods have represented the bulk of the trade; whereas on the export side, there has been no such predominant article. On the contrary, while the important articles of import kept up their relative positions all through, those of export underwent the greatest changes in their growth and relative importance.

In the earlier days, raw cotton occupied the first place among the objects of export. Right down to 1884–85, the output and export of which were being highly encouraged by the establishment and progress of the jute manufacturing industry in Dundee, held the first place. Then, the export of tea which was fast driving away the Chinese stuff from the British market along with the rapid growth of the newly established Indian industry, took the place of honour for the first time in 1890–91. Thus in 1890–91, tea, foodgrains, raw jute and cotton respectively occupied the first four places, the value of the exports of each of these being between 4 and 5 crores of rupees.

Since then, while the exports of raw cotton fell heavily, amounting to only 21 lakhs of rupees in 1899–1900, those of the other three commodities continued to grow in volume; and for the next few years, these were interchanging the first three places amongst themselves. By the end of the century, tea, however, came definitely to hold the foremost place; and though in certain abnormal years, the exports of foodgrains exceeded those of tea, the latter have since then continued to hold the premier position. This rising preponderance of tea in relation to foodgrains and jute was due to the following causes.

India herself being a densely populated country, subject to shortage of crops and famines, the exports of grains could show expansion only within certain limits and were liable to great fluctuations. In the case of jute, the growth of the manufacturing

industry in India and elsewhere restricted the exports to the United Kingdom. But tea was not subject to any of these influences. The home consumption was negligible and there was no great demand from other countries. The industry was started and fostered with a view to supply the demands of Britain which has continued to be almost the single market for Indian tea, the exports to other countries being quite small. Had it not been for tea, the exports to the United Kingdom would have shown still greater percentage decline.

The other articles of importance in our export trade with that country are hides and skins, jute manufactures, oilseeds, raw wool, lac, coffee and teak wood.

IV

It will be noted from the above study of the growth of Indo-British trade that most of the articles of import and export suffer from a double-sided competition.

The chief commodities of import, as already observed, are cotton goods and metal manufactures, both of which were liable to competition from home and abroad. In the case of the former the increasing home-production and the keen competition from Japan came greatly in the way of the United Kingdom. Indeed, in recent years, the imports of cotton goods from England have shown considerable decline in volume. As regards metal and metal manufactures, while in the earlier days England had no competitor on the field, towards the close of the last century Belgium and Germany came to be keen rivals of Great Britain. Indeed, by the beginning of this century, in certain kinds of metal manufactures, especially in iron and steel, the imports from Belgium and Germany to a great extent replaced those from the former. Lately the U.S.A. also joined them. Then there was the growth of Indian iron and steel industry which was raising its head under a system of protection. In the case of exports, the trade in raw materials like jute, hides and skins, and seeds was restricted by a keener demand from Continental countries, and was thus being diverted from the United Kingdom to non-British countries; on the other hand, the trade in

articles like coffee, cotton and tea had to meet the competition of foreign countries in supplying the British market and was thus being replaced by exports from the latter. There is a third class of commodities like foodgrains and wool, the exports of which were restricted both by the available home-supply and foreign competition. It will be seen that except tea (the exports of which are also to some extent liable to foreign competition), the exports of all other articles had gradually been diverted from the United Kingdom to other countries. Great Britain would not import Indian raw cotton or jute manufactures, while India found other markets not only for these commodities but also for her raw jute, oilseeds, hides and skins and other raw materials.

V

Another very important point to be noted in connection with the growth of Indo-British trade is that it has more or less kept pace with the progress of the foreign trade of Great Britain. This means that while the United Kingdom declined in her relative importance in India's foreign trade, India fully retained hers in Great Britain. Indeed till the outbreak of the last war, India was actually gaining in her relative importance, the growth of Indo-British trade being ahead of that of Britain's total trade. Since then, India slightly declined in her position, the subsequent developments in the United Kingdom's foreign trade being a little quicker than those with India. On the whole, the percentage share of India in Britain's trade remained more or less the same, while her percentage share in India's trade was continuously on the decline. It is, therefore, important to note in connection with the prospects of British trade in India that the United Kingdom showed as much progress in her trade with India as with other countries. The contrast is indeed striking. The following are the corroborative index numbers:

		Total trade of U.K.	*Indo-British trade*
Average	1875–79	100	100
Average	1885–89	104	144
Average	1895–99	121	141
Average	1905–09	178	210
Average	1910–13	208	265
Average	1914–18	301	270
Year	1920	585	428
Year	1921	322	327
Year	1925	388	326

Regarding the percentage share of India in Britain's total trade, it should be observed that India occupies no such eminent position as the United Kingdom does in India. Indo-British trade represents only a fraction of Britain's total trade. It is true that as a consumer of British goods, India occupies the foremost place; but while these represent about 50 per cent of our total imports, they scarcely amount to 12 per cent of Britain's total exports. The same is the case with Britain as a consumer of Indian goods. Thus, while the share of the United Kingdom in our export trade amounted to 25.5 per cent, in 1924–25, India's share in Britain's import trade amounted to only 5.7 per cent in 1924.

The following figures bring out more clearly the position India occupies in the foreign trade of Great Britain:

Year 1924: Value in Millions of £

Exports from U.K. to		*Import into U.K. from*	
India	90.6	U.S.A.	222.6
Australia	60.7	Argentina	75.2
U.S.A.	53.8	India	65.1
Germany	42.6	Canada	62.7

Considered as a whole, during the year 1924, India's share in

the total trade of the United Kingdom was only 8 per cent, while Britain's share in that of India was as much as 36 per cent.

VI

It has been observed that the decline in the percentage share of the United Kingdom in our foreign trade was more in the exports sent thereto than in the imports received therefrom.

An important change, however, took place since the close of the War. While the exports from India retained the pre-War level, the imports form the United Kingdom fell far short of it. During the period 1920–21 to 1925–26, the share of the Britain in our import trade declined from 58.8 per cent to 50.9 per cent, whereas the same in our import trade rose from 19.4 per cent to 21.0 per cent. This is also observable in the trade of the United Kingdom.

Percentage Share of India in U.K.'s Export and Import Trade

	Export	*Import*
1910	10.69	5.53
1913	13.38	5.48
1922	12.80	4.25
1923	11.24	5.76
1925	11.12	5.76

Previous to 1922, India was gaining in relative importance in Britain's export trade, and losing in her import trade. The subsequent developments were in the opposite direction. The causes of this change in the trend of Indo-British trade will reveal a few important truths regarding the strength of Britain's hold on the Indian market.

During the war period, the import of British goods into India was naturally restricted, and countries like Japan and U.S.A. took full advantage of the situation in pushing the sale of their goods. The result was that when the United Kingdom regained her normal conditions, she found that the market had to a great extent been

captured by those two countries whom it was now very difficult to drive away. Japan had come to be a formidable competitor not only in Indian market but elsewhere, as well in the supply of cotton goods which are by far the most important article of our import trade with Britain. Moreover, the raising of the import duty and the abolition of the excise gave an advantage to Indian manufactures which they had never enjoyed before. Thus, in the post-War period, the imports of British cotton goods came to be seriously affected by competition form within the country as well as from Japan. On the other hand, the fact that Germany and Belgium could very soon recover the Indian market in spite of the complete collapse of their trade with India during the War period while the United Kingdom was unable to do so, points to the inability of Britain to compete with those countries in certain classes of commodities. The development of new industries in India also came in the way of the growth of British imports; *e.g.*, the iron and steel industry. It will thus be seen that British imports in the post-War period became subjected to very keen competition from home and abroad.

With exports from India, such was not the case. The stimulus that they had received during the War led to their subsequent growth. Moreover, the policy of Imperial Preference and the preferential duties levied on certain Indian goods in the United Kingdom caused some slight developments in our exports to that country.

Hence it was that in the post-War period the exports sent from India to the United Kingdom showed greater developments than the imports received therefrom, while the reverse had been the case so long.

VII

From the above study, important conclusions may be drawn regarding the future prospects of Indo-British trade. True, we have not taken into account the latest developments inasmuch as we have left the last four years out of our study; nor have we considered the possible reactions of the recent Swadeshi movement on our trade, especially with Britain. Nevertheless, the historical perspective of

half a century will, in our opinion, be a surer guide in the matter than the passing events of a few abnormal years.

In view of the fact that the United Kingdom has now come under the sway of far greater competition in the import trade of India both from home as well as from foreign countries some of which are decidedly better situated in supplying many of the manufactured goods required in India, we can expect very little progress, if not a positive decline, in our import trade with Britain.

In the case of exports sent from India, we may expect some slight developments in future, especially in view of the fact that the import of Empire products is being encouraged in the United Kingdom and that systematic efforts are being made to consume a greater amount of colonial goods. But here, also, the prospects are not very bright. Canada and Australia, with their vast agricultural resources, are showing great progress in their exports to Britain. It is not unlikely that in future some of the articles from India will be replaced by those from these colonies. In the case of wheat, they have already almost completely ousted India from the British market.

Moreover, it should not be lost sight of that the total amount of Indo-British trade has reached such huge dimensions for a poor country like India that the possibilities of further expansion are limited. While the import of British goods is restricted by competition from India and foreign countries, the exports from India are likely to be restricted by the competition from the colonies in supplying the British market and by the greater demand for Indian goods from non-British countries.

The Pros and Cons of Office Acceptance

Now that the Supreme Executive of the Indian National Congress has decided to permit members of the Congress to accept ministerial office in those provinces where the Congress Party is in a majority,

it behooves us to be alert about the dangers ahead of us. Though there are going to be Congress Ministries in only six out of the eleven provinces in british India (*viz.*, in the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Madras Presidency, Central Provinces and Bombay Presidency), there is no doubt that the attention of Congressmen throughout India and of the public in general, will, for some time to come, be riveted on the work of the Ministers and of the Provincial Legislatures. Constitutional activity will become the order of the day and extra-constitutional methods like civil disobedience, which have hitherto been the main political weapon in the hands of the Congress, will be relegated to the background. A psychological change in the mentality of the people will necessarily follow and a desire for the loaves and fishes of office will creep into the minds of many Congressmen. The 'rebel-mentality' which it has taken the Congress years to foster, will once again give place to self-complacence and inertia. These are some of the possibilities that are looming large today.

I am not one of those who consider that acceptance of ministerial office is wrong in principle. Entry into the Legislatures and acceptance of office no doubt involve taking the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. But I have always regarded such oaths as purely constitutional in character. Between 1922 and 1925, when the question of entry into the Legislatures was being hotly debated in Congress circles, the argument of the oppositionists that such entry necessarily implied swearing allegiance to the Crown, never appealed to me. I see nothing ethically wrong in Mr de Valera's taking the oath of allegiance to the British Crown in order to go into the Dail and abolish that oath. The issues involved are not those of principle but of expediency and the standpoint from which I judge such issues is entirely realistic.

From my own experience of Municipal administration I feel sure that success in the administrative sphere demands a capacity for mastering indefinite details. Whole-hearted devotion to administrative work therefore rarely leaves one any spare time or energy for tackling broader issues. It is only seldom that we do come across men who can go into the mintest details of administration and simultaneously think out the more fundamental problems.

I remember very clearly that when I was the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation in 1924, I was entirely lost to the Congress, so submerged was I in the details of Municipal administration. But I had gone into this work with my eyes open, because I had the assurance that there was no dearth of men to carry on Congress activities with unabated vigor.

I have always held the view that those who fight for freedom have to undertake the task of 'post-War' reconstruction when freedom is won. There can be no shirking of responsibility of the pretext, 'Our mission is over.' Therefore, as soon as a political party is victorious, it has to throw itself heart and soul into the task of administration and social reconstruction and thereby demonstrate that it can create as effectively as it can destroy. But before the Party can undertake that responsibility, it has to decide if the longed-for hour has arrived and freedom's battle has been won. Coming to the issue in hand, the question which confronts us is—'Does the Government of India Act, 1935 give what we have striven for? And leaving out the Central Government for the time being, does it even give us real autonomy in the provinces?' The obvious reply is—'No.'

It will, of course, be argued, that in political as in military warfare, we have to occupy every vantage-point and consolidate our position, as we proceed towards our goal. Very true. But are we sure that in trying to capture the seats of power, for what they are worth, we shall not get lost in the labyrinth of administration and begin to renounce that 'rebel mentality' which is the starting point of all political progress? The Congress today is clearly in the presence of a dilemma. In order to continue the fight for freedom which is less than half-won, it cannot afford to let all its front-rank men go in the ministerial office. On the other hand, unless really first-rate men become Congress ministers in the different provinces, we shall fail to make the fullest use of the seats of influence and power which the Constitution gives us. It was only a first-rate political genius like the late V.J. Patel who, as President of the Indian Legislative Assembly during the period 1925–1930, could uphold the popular cause, create a parliamentary tradition and keep the members of the Treasury Benches in their places. A lesser man would certainly

have failed. And placed alongside of V.J. Patel, Shanmukham Chettys and Abdur Rahims appear like negligible invertebrates.

It can or will be also urged by the protagonists of office-acceptance that experience in administration is indispensable for a political party and that the new Constitution offers scope for acquiring such experience. But this argument may easily be overdone. Experience in administration is the same as experience in organisation and while latter may be an asset for any party the former may be more of a handicap than otherwise. The greatest administrators in post-War Europe, as in all ages and in all climes, were comparatively young and also inexperienced in administration, when they took over the reins of office from their predecessors. One has only to look at successful administrators like Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini and Kemal Pasha to appreciate the force of my argument. The fact is that after a revolution (whether violent or non-violent) the new administration requires principles and technique of quite a different order and, in order to cope with the new situation successfully, as courage, imagination and resourcefulness. Did 'experienced' administrators produce the Five-Hear Plan for Soviet Russia or build up a new Republic for the Turks or found a new Empire for Italy or create a new Persia out of chaos and corruption?

There is no doubt that the central citadel of power and reaction (the Government of India) is still in the hands of the British Government and it is only the outposts, the Provincial Governments, that have passed into our hands—and that too, not wholly. In such circumstances, can we continue our fight for full freedom without being side-tracked from the main issues and without losing much of our pristine zeal, if an important section within our party choose to bury themselves in the details of administration? An *a priori* answer to this question is not of much value and events alone will furnish us the proper reply in the fullness of time. But if the faith of the pro-office party is to be justified, we have to be forewarned and forearmed against the disasters which are likely to overtake us in the near future and to which reference has been made in the first paragraph. My object today is to not reopen a question that has been decided once for all by the Supreme Executive of the Congress, but to indicate some of the rocks of which we have to

steer clear, if we intend to further the cause of India's independence while making the most of the new constitution.

The big problems which an Indian statesman will have to tackle are poverty, unemployment, disease and illiteracy. These problems can be successfully solved only by a national government with plentiful resources at its command. Once we have the will to handle these problems, we shall require the organisation and the money to do so. Will the Congress Ministers in the provinces find the necessary organisation and money to undertake nation-building work on a large-scale? Regarding organisation, it may be pointed out that the superior services are manned largely by Britishers who have been brought up under a totally different tradition and who will always be conscious that their pay, emoluments and pension are safeguarded in the Constitution beyond the control of the Ministers. Will such officers fall in line with the new policy which Congress Ministers will necessarily enunciate? If they do not, then what will be the fate of the ministers? With the best of intentions, will they be able to struggle successfully against an obstructionist bureaucracy? It will be quite impossible for them to alter the personnel of the higher services because the latter constitute a 'reserved' subject which the Ministers cannot touch. The Ministers will therefore have to carry on with them as best as they can, though they may run the risk of seeing their work nullified through their obstructionist policy. Further, several of the provinces will present us with the paradoxical situation of a Congress Government being run largely by British officers and their erstwhile protégés.

The problem of finance is a problem even more formidable. The Congress Party is committed to certain measures which will cut at the sources of governmental revenue and will make it extremely difficult to launch on nation-building work on a large-scale. After a reduction in land-rent and the introduction of a prohibitionist policy with regard to excise, the Ministry may even have to face a budget-deficit. In any other country, the Finance Minister would at once set about reducing expenditure. In the Indian provinces, the salary and emoluments of the higher services cannot be touched and the other ranks are generally too ill-paid to leave any rooms for economy. Consequently, retrenchment in this sphere will

be out of the question. Army, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Customs, etc., being federal subjects, retrenchment in, or increase of income from, any of these departments will not be possible either. None of the provincial Governments can create more money through inflation—which is easily possible in view of the large gold reserve which India has—because currency is also a federal subject. In these circumstances, the only alternative open to a Provincial Government will be to float a big loan for financing nation-building activities. But will the Governor recommend such a loan for the approval of the Provincial Legislative Assembly and will the reactionary Central Government of Lord Linlithgow sanction such a loan, where such sanction is called for under the Constitution? If this is not done, then blank despair is likely to stare the Congress Ministers in the face.

In the light of the above considerations, let us see what tangible good the Congress Ministers can achieve. Firstly, they can release the political prisoners, repeal the repressive laws and ordinances and allow the people to have more freedom. Secondly, they can infuse a new spirit into the provincial administration and set-up a new standard of public service for all classes of Government servants and especially the police. Thereby, they may be able to get more work out of the existing officers and employees of the Government and improve the standard of administration. Thirdly, they can give a fillip to the constructive activities of the Congress by offering governmental co-operation wherever possible. Fourthly, they can give an impetus to indigenous industries and especially to Khadi (handspun and handwoven cloth) by preferring home-made goods to imported stuff when government stores have to be purchased. Fifthly, they can initiate beneficial legislation in several matters (*e.g.* social welfare, public health, etc.), especially where such legislation does not entail additional expenditure. Sixthly, by a careful distribution of patronage, they can strengthen the nationalist elements in the province and incidentally weaken the reactionary forces. Seventhly, they can undertake a comprehensive economic survey of the provinces with a view to ascertaining the wealth of people, their taxable capacity and the extent of unemployment. Eighthly, they may effect a certain amount of retrenchment in some depart-

ments. Ninthly, they can utilise their official position for thwarting the introduction of Federation at the centre. Last but not least, through their example they may exert a wholesome influence on non-Congress ministries in the five other provinces.

But these are, after all piecemeal reforms. They may satisfy the people for a time, but not for long. Before the first year is out, the basic problems—poverty, unemployment, disease, illiteracy, etc., will once again assume serious proportions and demand an urgent remedy. With a reactionary Government at the Centre and with limited provincial finances, will the Congress Ministries be able to cope with the demand? Poverty and unemployment can be tackled only by an improvement of agriculture and a revival of National industries, along with a rapid extension of banking and credit facilities. All this will require more money. For the eradication of disease, large sums of money will be needed in connection with preventive and curative measures on the one hand, and the promotion of sports and physical culture on the other. And the abolition of illiteracy will pre-suppose the introduction of free and compulsory primary education for young and old, which will be possible only when large funds are at the disposal of the ministers.

These fundamental problems, which have not yet been satisfactorily solved by the foremost nations of the day, can be successfully tackled in India only when there is a popular Government in power at Delhi and there is thorough co-operation between the Central and Provincial Governments. Further it is my firm conviction that the financial needs of a backward and impoverished country like India which has to make up leeway, can never be met by following the principles or conventions of orthodox finance. I can therefore visualise a time in the near future when the Congress Ministers, having gone through a substantial portion of their programme of piecemeal reform, will realise that no further progress is possible until a popular Government is installed at Delhi and there is complete transference of power to the people of the country.

But we need not think that it will be all smooth sailing for the Congress Ministers until we come to this stage. I have already hinted at two difficulties which will dog their footsteps throughout their official career, *viz.*, paucity of finance and the prerogatives of the

superior services. The first point does not need any labouring, but I should like to illustrate the second. Take one specific instance, the Indian Medical Service. Under the old scheme, there were 386 Britishers and 263 Indians in the Indian Medical Service. Under the new scheme, the number of Britishers will remain constant, but the number of Indians will be reduced to 198 and out of this number, there will be 58 officers on Short Service commission. The basic pay of the I.M.S. officers will be reduced in future, but the Britishers will be more than compensated by an increase in the overseas allowance, which by the way will be denied to Indian members of the Service. Thus under the new scheme, the position of Indian members of the I.M.S. *vis-a-vis* the British members, will be worse than what it is today. And to make matters still worse, some of the best districts in the country and some of the best jobs in the Medical Colleges will be reserved for Britishers. Though the Congress Ministers will not be responsible for this state of affairs and though well-informed and educated men will appreciate the helplessness of their position, the man in the street will not absolve the Provincial Government from all blame for its inability to push on with the Indianization of the superior services or to reduce the exorbitant salaries and emoluments which they draw. The Congress Ministers in the six provinces will be in an anomalous position because, while they will nominally be the bosses of the I.M.S. officers, they will not be able to touch a single prerogative belonging to the latter. The position of other branches of the superior services will be similar to that of the I.M.S.

If such be the prospect before the Congress ministries in the six provinces, one can easily imagine what the record of the ministries in the five other provinces will be, where the majority of the ministers are spineless creatures whose one ambition is somehow to remain in office. In Bengal, for instance, the achievements of the ministry, or rather the non-achievement during the last four months are an augury for the future. They have not yet had the courage to tackle the first item in the programme of any popular ministry, *viz.*, the release of all political prisoners. What then can one expect of that ministry in the matter of handling the difficult jute problem

of Bengal on the satisfactory solution of which depend the welfare and prosperity of at least thirty if not forty millions of people?

I remember that when I was in Dublin in February, 1936, I was discussing with the Ministers of Agriculture and Industry, somewhat similar problems, *viz.*, the restriction of beet cultivation in the Irish Free State, its relation to the needs of the sugar-mill industry, and the marketing of the sugar produced in that country. And I then realized how easy it was to solve the jute problem in Bengal, if only one had a national and democratic government ruling at Calcutta and at Delhi. I believe that a popular ministry in Bengal can achieve much even within the limits of the constitution in solving the jute problem, if it has the courage to fight the vested interests, though it will necessarily be handicapped where additional funds will be required for financing the jute-growers. But, of course, nothing can come out of the present reactionary ministry, which is poor in talent and lacking in courage.

Are we to conclude then that nothing substantial can come out of the policy of accepting ministerial office? Certainly not. Though, unlike the majority of Congressmen today, I have no hopes of far-reaching reforms through the instrumentality of Congress ministries, I nevertheless believe that it is possible to utilise the policy of office-acceptance to the fullest extent and advance the cause of Indian independence. But in order to accomplish that, we have to be wide awake and not allow the Congress to degenerate into a glorified Liberal League. There is no lack of people within the Congress who, left to themselves, would like to slide back into the more comfortable path of constitutionalism.

The greatest advantage accruing from office-acceptance will be that it will inspire the masses with the belief that the Congress is the natural successor to the British Government, and that in the fullness of time the entire governmental machinery in India will pass into the hands of the Congress party. The moral gain resulting from this will be immeasurable, and I consider it far more valuable than any material gain which may fall to our lot through the grace of Congress Ministers. Secondly, for weak-minded Congressmen a taste of power may be a powerful incentive to further activity involving suffering and sacrifice and may engender greater self-

confidence. Thirdly, it will enable the Congress to oppose the introduction of Federation, not only from without but also through the medium of the Provincial Governments—and if as a result of this twofold opposition, the Federal Plan is finally smashed, the Congress will have a feather in its cap.

Last but not least, through office-acceptance, the Congress Ministers will be able to demonstrate to India and to the world form their own administrative experience that there is little scope for far-reaching social reconstruction within the limits of the Constitution of 1935. This experience will prepare the Congress and the country at large, psychologically, for the final assault on the citadel of reaction at Delhi and Whitehall.

Personally, I shall be more than satisfied if this fourfold result follows from office-acceptance. Those of us who have no faith in office-acceptance as a policy, but have to abide by it as a *fait accompli*, have to warn our countrymen against the talk of a ten-year programme for Congress ministries which has been started by some Congress leaders who may possibly be feeling inclined to accept constitutionalism as a settled policy for the future.

It is gratifying to see that the foremost leaders of the Congress—Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad and others—have kept aloof not only from ministerial office, but also from the Legislature. This will be a guarantee that the Congress will not lose itself in the meshes of parliamentary activity and thereby sink into a purely constitutional body. (I am using the word 'constitutional' in its narrow sense.) These leaders will see to it that the Congress Ministers are kept in their places and carry out the instructions of the Congress High Command. Above all, the fact that Mahatma Gandhi, in spite of his temporary retirement, is as vigilant as ever, watching events with the closest interest, will convince everyone that should the occasion arise, as in all probability it may, he will not hesitate to come out into the open once again and calling upon the Congress to discard Constitutional activity, will unfurl the flag of 'Mass Satyagraha,' so that the Congress may fight its last battle for winning 'Purna Swaraj' for India.

Calcutta*

Calcutta's Welcome to her Ex-Mayor

Public Reception to Mr Subhas Bose

'Friends,

'I feel utterly overwhelmed at this enthusiastic demonstration of your cordiality and affection. I do not know how to express my gratitude to you and if speech fails me at this moment, the fault is not entirely mine. You have been good enough to refer to my sufferings and to my achievements in the course of my public life. But I shall not be indulging in the language of humility if I tell you frankly that I have very little to show in the way of positive achievement. I am but a soldier always on the move. Our goal is still ahead of us and our path is strewn with thorns, not roses. In the course of our long and weary march I have no doubt had my share of suffering. But who in our national army has not and moreover, what have I suffered compared with those who have given their all in the service of the country's cause?

'On the 17th March, when I was suddenly released from detention, my thoughts immediately went back to those who had been languishing for years behind prison-bars or under the chains of detention and restraint. I have drunk with them from the same cup of sorrow and I have seen the tears of their near and dear ones. And as if further experience was needed to deepen my agony, I happened to be present in an adjoining cabin when a detenue breathed his last in the Calcutta Medical College Hospital under the watchful eyes of our vigilant police and there was the spectacle of his body being pursued by them till it was reduced to ashes on the banks of our holy river. You will, therefore, understand why I carry within me today a heavy load and why I shall endeavour in the fullness of time to rouse your hearts to a higher degree of sympathy for the helpless victims of this heartless regime.

* Address at a public reception, 6 April 1937, Calcutta, published in the *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*.

'After a long interval of five-and-a-half years, I stand before you once again under the blue canopy of heaven. Much water has flown down the Hooghly since I stood here last and much has happened for good or for ill in this unhappy land of ours. I am now in the midst of a storm of recollections—both painful and pleasant—which are being wafted across my mind. Most poignant of all is the thought that some of the greatest and worthiest sons of Mother India—Deshpriya Jatindra Mohan Sen-Gupta, President V.J. Patel, Dr M.A. Ansari, Mr Birendra Nath Sasmal and many others—are no longer with us. But though they have departed this life, they have left behind an inspiration and a message, that we have to continue their life's work and bring it to fruition. In this part of the country you have undoubtedly felt more than anything else the absence of Deshpriya Sen-Gupta. Bengal today is like a benighted province without his leadership and you will have to pull all your strength and all your resources if you are to fill even partially the great void that has been caused by his sudden, unexpected and tragic death.

'Apart from the suffering and distress caused by the repressive policy of the bureaucracy in innumerable homes in Bengal and other parts of the country. I find that the economic condition of the workers and the peasantry has considerably worsened during the last five years. This is finding expression today in mass demonstrations and in strikes, as for instance, in the jute workers' strike in Bengal in which I am told at least 80,000 people are involved. My heart goes out in sympathy to these victims of economic exploitation in the non-violent struggle they are waging in connection with their elementary demand for bread and work.

'It is no exaggeration to say that since coming back into your midst after imprisonment, exile and detention, I have been feeling like a political Rip Van Winkle. You must, therefore, give me time to pick up the old threads, to find my bearings and then to look into the future. Further, you are aware of the present state of my health and that several months must elapse before I can feel well enough to resume my normal activities. You will also agree with me that before I make up my mind about my future plan of work, I should, in fairness to myself and to our common cause take the

opportunity of discussing the present situation with Mahatma Gandhi to whom the country once again looks forward for a lead, with our President Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and with other prominent leaders. I have, therefore, no option but to defer to a later date a full pronouncement regarding my views on the burning topics of the day.

'During the last six years which have been for me rich in experience, there is much that I have learnt and perhaps unlearnt. I am in a way thankful to the present Government for forcibly putting me in places and in predicaments which I would ordinarily have avoided, but from which I have extracted considerable knowledge. I believe that the most valued treasure that I carry with me today is the insight I have gained into international affairs and the contacts I have made with some of the master-minds of modern Europe. As a result of this, I feel that I can today view human affairs as well as India's problems from the correct standpoint and in their proper perspective.

'Whatever be our solution of any particular Indian problem, there are certain ideas which should be common ground between ourselves in the first place. We should all realise that the world today is a unified whole and the fate of India is linked up with that of the rest of the modern world. The strategy and tactic of the Indian movement should, therefore, be determined after a full comprehension of the world situation of today and tomorrow.

'Secondly, Imperialism, in whichever form it may appear, is a measure to the liberty of other people and to the peace of the modern world. It may appear in the cloak of democracy as in Western Europe or in the garb of Fascist dictatorship as in Central Europe. But as lovers of freedom and peace, we have to resolutely set our face against it.

'Thirdly, as against the outside world, India is one unit and the different provinces and different communities of India should line up under one banner and one policy, if we are to bring about the speedy emancipation of our people. Fissiparous tendencies, whether of a provincial or of a communal character should be regarded as the greatest curse for a subject race and all lovers of freedom should take their stand on a broad socio-economic programme for the

emancipation of the masses, which will cut across provincial and communal divisions.

'Fourthly, our strategy should be directed towards laying down and strengthening the basis of a broad anti-Imperialist front of workers, peasants and middle class. A united front of all anti-Imperialist forces in the country under the aegis of the Indian National Congress for effecting the political and economic liberation of our hungry and enslaved millions is the supreme need of the hour. Last but not least, the method of our struggle should be confined in the limits of non-violent non-cooperation.

'While I am not in a position to announce my future plan of work today, I should, nevertheless, make it quite clear to you that in future I intend to devote a good portion of my time and energy to All-India problems and activities. Our salvation, whether in the political or in the social sphere, will depend on the fight which India as a whole will put up against foreign domination and Imperialist exploitation and we may not get immersed in work in one province to the neglect of our duty in other parts of the country. While devoting adequate attention to All-India affairs. I may be able to look after Bengal affairs as well—but whether I shall do so or not, will depend on certain conditions. Firstly, workers belonging to different groups who have hitherto been engaged in meaningless, internecine quarrels must forget their past squabbles and transcend their group mentality. Bengal has to be united on the basis of a common socio-economic programme which will unite not only all Congress groups but the Hindu and Muslim masses as well and if that unity can be built up only on the grave of our past dissensions these groups will have to be buried fathoms deep. Secondly, Bengal must follow unreservedly the lead of the Indian National Congress and avoid once for all any deviations in the domain of either principle or method. Thirdly, adequate funds must be found for carrying on Congress work in Bengal in an efficient manner. Fourthly, the Congress policy towards the Calcutta Corporation. Howrah Municipality and other local bodies must be reconsidered in the light of the record of the Congress party therein during the last five or six years. Whether I shall be able to take in hand the affairs of the Bengal Congress Committee can be decided only when

I return to active service. Meanwhile, I would like all my friends and co-workers in Bengal to consider that if they desire my co-operation in provincial affairs, they must be prepared for a radical reconstruction of the machinery and programme of the Congress in Bengal in the light of what I have just mentioned.

'Friends, let me thank you once again from the bottom of my heart for the warmth of affection which you have been good enough to bestow on me this evening. This is an event which will continue in my memory for all time and it will be an inspiration in the midst of trials and difficulties that may yet be in store for me. There is nothing that I can offer you in return, except a re-affirmation of my unflinching resolve to devote all that I have to the service of our Motherland and her political and economic emancipation. The blessings and good wishes of my countrymen cannot be in vain and I hope that after some months I shall recover sufficiently to be able to resume my normal life and activity. I shall now with your permission leave Calcutta for a long rest and change. On my return, I shall make a full pronouncement regarding my views on current Indian problems and my future plan of work. After you have considered what I have said today as well as my subsequent pronouncement, it will be for you to decide if you should extend me that whole-hearted co-operation which I earnestly desire and to which I shall eagerly look forward.

A Lack of Dynamic Idealism*

Ex-Mayor Subhas Bose on Corporation Affairs

'It Makes Me Hang Down My Head In Shame'

'You have asked for my assistance. I would gladly offer it, if I could. But I am painfully conscious of my helplessness. You have an exaggerated notion of my influence. If I have any influence with

* Text of letter published in *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, 14 August 1937.

the public—it certainly does not exist within the Corporation walls. Otherwise many things would not have happened which have actually happened during the last few years. Congressmen did not enter the Corporation in 1924 under Deshabandhu's leadership in order to increase the pay and emoluments of the higher officers and leave the poorer employees in their existing grades. Nepotism has been so rampant during the last few years that it makes me hang my head down in shame at the doings of a body in which Congressmen have, or should have, a great deal of influence. The extraordinary treatment meted out to the Chief Executive Officer when he applied for leave some months ago is an illustration in point. The arguments that are usually trotted out for resisting the claims of the poorer employees to an increase in their pay and emoluments would do credit to the most deep-dyed bureaucrat. My sense of fairness as a human being and my conscience as a Congressman revolts at it—but for the time being I am helpless.

'Ever since my release I have been worried over the internal working of the Corporation. If even a small percentage of the rumours and reports that have reached my ears be true, it would be enough to give the public a rude shock. I am glad to see that under the present Mayor a corner of the evil has been lifted which has shrouded the affairs of the Corporation departments. But I am sure that what has seen the light of day is nothing compared to what still remains enveloped in darkness.

'As a Congressman, I have a certain responsibility for what is happening within the Corporation, and I am fully alive to it. This sense of responsibility extends beyond the manifest injustice done to the poorer employees and covers many other spheres as well. The problem will have to be tackled in the near future. I cannot tell you, today how I shall act when I am back to my work. I can only tell you this that if I have anything to do with Bengal politics—the Augean stables of the Calcutta Corporation will have to be swept clean, or, in the alternative, the Congress Party will have to wash its hands of any responsibility for what the Calcutta Corporation does.

'In my view, what is happening in the Calcutta Corporation is an index of what is going on in the larger sphere of public life in

Bengal. A moral inertia has got hold of our men. There is a lack of dynamic idealism. All the idealism we had seems to be locked up in prisons and detention-camps and those who are outside seem to be marking time or definitely backsliding. Hence you find on all sides petty squabbles and fights over shadowy issues to the neglect of the real and fundamental problems. From this morass, the province can be saved only by a moral resurgence—by a flood of idealism—which will sweep aside everything that is mean, sordid and reactionary and will bring back to our hears, as well as to our public life, the sorely needed virtues of faith, uprightness and unselfish devotion. I feel that after a spell of cynicism and reaction we are on the eve of a great moral awakening.'

Indian Architecture and the Calcutta Corporation*

Mr Subhas Chandra Bose's Views

'I am sorry for the delay in replying to your letters, which is due largely to the fact that I felt helpless about furthering the objects you have in view. You know very well my own attitude towards the revival of Indian architecture and how I regard it as an important aspect of our national regeneration. Art and architecture represent the finest embodiment of a nation's soul. And as the soul of a people awakens, it naturally finds expression. Having this deep conviction within me, I have followed your activities with the greatest interest. I have great admiration for the unbounded zeal and enthusiasm, which you have evinced for the cause you have taken to heart and I earnestly pray that however formidable may be the obstacles, which beset your path, you may never have occasion to lose one particle of the innate optimism which has been the secret of your success.

'Coming to the subject matter of your letter I may say, that it

* Text of letter published in *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, 28 August 1937.

is quite possible for the Calcutta Corporation to further the cause of Indian architecture. I may go further and say that if I had any control over that body, I would certainly have put some of your ideas into practice. But whether you believe me or not, the fact remains that I am not in a position to influence that body. It may appear to you anomalous that with a Congress party inside the Corporation I am unable to influence the latter body. But the anomaly is a fact all the same.

'I do not know if it would be possible to have an Avenue exclusively for Indian architecture, owing to legal difficulties, for the Corporation cannot force anybody to go in for a particular type of architecture. Nevertheless, the Corporation can indirectly encourage Indian architecture. It is possible to have a Department of Indian Architecture for giving free advice to the citizens as to the type of architecture they should adopt. This Department may stock designs, handbooks, etc., for the use of the citizens and it may also carry on propaganda in various ways to popularise Indian architecture. Advantage may also be taken of Exhibitions for popularising Indian architecture among the people of Calcutta. And if Calcutta sets an example, other Indian cities are sure to follow.

'But the point is who will listen to me? People are far too busy with petty intrigues and insignificant squabbles to think of larger problems. Consequently, I am not al all hopeful of getting anything done. You may say that in that event there is no use in having a Congress Party in the Corporation. Perhaps you are right and that is a point which has been exercising my mind ever since my release. What I shall do when I am back to my normal work, I cannot say. But the problem will have to be tackled sooner or later. Till then I can only send you my good wishes and hope that you will never lose your optimism.'

Europe—Today and Tomorrow*

It is customary in modern Politics to classify the different nations as the 'Haves' and 'Have-nots.' The 'Haves' are those, like Great Britain and France, that have profited as a result of the Treaties of Versailles, Trianon and Neuilly, following the Great War. The 'Have-nots' are those that have lost territory under some of these Treaties or have specific grievances against their provisions. In Europe, Great Britain, France, as well as the succession states that have been carved out of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire are among the 'Haves.' On the other hand, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Austria and Bulgaria are among the 'Have-nots.' Though Russia lost much of her territory as a result of the last War, she is now interested in maintaining the status quo and is therefore classified among the 'Haves.' And though Italy acquired territory from the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the War, she is nevertheless regarded as a 'Have-not' because she was expecting a greater share of the spoils of war. Italy was cajoled into joining the Allies in 1915 by the terms of the Secret Pact of London, wherein Britain and France promised her several things, including the Dalmatian Coast which later on was assigned by the Peace Conference to Yugoslavia (called in the Peace Treaty the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes).

Among 'Have-nots,' Bulgaria is the quietest. She lost territory to all her neighbours (Roumania, Greece and Serbia—now Yugoslavia) as a result of the Balkan War of 1912 and the Great War as well. But she nurses her grievances in secret and sighs for better days, though she feels helpless within a ring of hostile powers. Hungary is more active, so far as propaganda goes. Her protagonists roam all over Europe and endeavour to canvass support among the Big Powers for revision of her frontiers. From the military point of view, Hungary is not an important factor today, having lost more than half of her former territory and population to Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia (formerly Serbia) and Roumania.

* Published in *Modern Review*, September 1937, and reprinted in Subhas C. Bose, *Through Congress Eyes* (Kitabistan, Allahabad and London, 1938).

Till recently, Soviet Russia would have been regarded as an explosive force of gigantic proportions, busy in stirring up revolution all over the World. But such is not the case today. After the death of Lenin and the elimination of Trotsky, Soviet Russia under the guidance of Stalin is interested only in building up Socialism within the Soviet frontiers. The sudden resurgence of Germany has helped to accentuate this tendency. Russia has therefore joined the League of Nations, which by the way is dominated by the capitalist powers, and under the slogan of 'Collective Security and Peace,' is doing everything possible to prevent a disturbance of the status quo in Europe. The really explosive forces in Europe today are Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Ranged against them are Britain, France and Soviet Russia. On the complicated chess-board of Europe interminable moves are going on, and the scene is changing from day to day.

Before the Great War, the status quo was preserved by maintaining the 'Balance of Power.' The powers interested in preserving the status quo would have a secret alliance among themselves and would endeavour to play against one another the potentially hostile ones who refused to join them. The League of Nations which was constituted in 1919 was meant to put an end to secret diplomacy and to the division of the world into rival groups of powers, which served to keep up the bogey of war. In its place, was introduced a new technique, whereby all nations were to be brought into the League and made jointly responsible for the maintenance of 'Collective Security and Peace.' Both the League of the Nations and its new technique seem to have failed in their objective, because there are powers that do not feel interested in preserving the status quo and among them Japan and Germany, are no longer members of the League—while the most powerful factor in international politics, the U.S.A., has never been a member.

To understand the meaning and purpose behind the recent disturbances in Europe, one has to comprehend the aims of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Since Mussolini came to power in 1922, Italy has been thinking aggressively of expansion—of a place in the sun—of a revival of the Roman Empire. But till January, 1935, Italy did not herself know which direction her policy of expansion

should follow. She had grievances against Jugoslavia, who had robbed her of the Dalmatian Coast. She was snarling at France who had taken the Italian Districts of Savoy and Nice and was in possession of Tunisia, in North Africa, with a large Italian population, and of the Island of Corsica which belongs geographically to Italy. She was hostile to Imperialist Britain who was in control of Italian 'Malta' and had, with French acquiescence, converted the Mediterranean Sea into a British lake.

The tension between Italy and France was particularly acute, with the result that both sides of the Franco-Italian frontier were heavily fortified and guarded. Then in 1933, the Nazi Colossus suddenly appeared on the scene and changed the whole aspect of Europe. France rushed to England for support and alliance against the new danger. But Britain was non-committal. Perhaps in her heart of hearts she relished the idea of checking French hegemony on the Continent. Perhaps she was simply following her traditional policy in international affairs. France, however, was nettled, and in annoyance she turned to Italy and Soviet Russia. France wanted to withdraw her troops from the Italian frontier and concentrate them against Germany, and she wanted, further, an ally on Germany's eastern flank. Thus there came into existence the Laval-Mussolini Pact and the Franco-Soviet Pact.

The Laval-Mussolini Pact in January, 1935, decided for Italy the direction of her future expansion. Italy squared up her differences with France and gave up territorial ambitions in Europe. In return, France agreed to give her a free hand in Africa. The result was the rape of Abyssinia.

After the conquest of Abyssinia, Mussolini made a speech in which he declared to the world that Italy had now become a 'satisfied' power. The annexation of Abyssinia had been regarded by Britain as an encroachment on her preserves in Africa and the speech appeared as a pointer in the direction of the renewal of Anglo-Italian friendship. That expectation was not fulfilled, however, though Britain had at first challenged Italy over the Abyssinia question and then beaten a quick retreat before the bluff and swagger of Mussolini—she had not forgotten the humiliation. In order to repair the damage done to her prestige among the Mediter-

ranean and Near Eastern nations—she set about strengthening her naval and aerial bases in the Mediterranean. The First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Samuel Hoare, went on a tour of inspection in the Mediterranean and concluded it with a public declaration that Britain would not withdraw from that zone. Other Cabinet minister, like Anthony Eden, also made pronouncements to the effect that the Mediterranean was Britain's lifeline—that it was not merely a short cut, but a main arterial road.

It is this determination on the part of Britain to maintain her position in the Mediterranean and to strengthen it further which has irritated and antagonised Italy—for Italy is equally determined to increase her influence in the Mediterranean through the expansion of her Navy and Air Force and this could take place only at the expense of Britain. It should therefore be clear that the present Anglo-Italian tension is not a product of Il Duce's ill-humour, nor is it a passing phase. It will continue until the question of the future hegemony over the Mediterranean is finally solved through the voluntary withdrawal or defeat of one of the two rival powers. Fraternising letters may pass between Neville Chamberlain and Signor Mussolini, Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers may shake hands—but a political conflict born of objective factors and forces will continue, so long as the causes remain.

Italy's reply to Britain's renewed interest in the Mediterranean is her intervention in the Spanish Civil War. It would be puerile to think or suggest that Italy has plumped for Franco because of her sympathy for the latter's Fascist aims or her hatred of Communism. Political sympathy she would have for Franco in any case, but she is pouring out her blood and money for Franco primarily for strategic reasons. The same is true of Germany and whoever does not realise this, understands nothing of the Spanish Civil War.

In spite of her progress in re-armament, Italy is no match for Britain. British re-armament throughout the world has made Italy's position weaker since the end of the Abyssinian War. In any case, Britain through her control of Gibraltar and Suez can, in the event of a war with Italy, bottle up the Italian fleet and carry out an economic blockade which may prove disastrous to the latter. Italy has to import most of her raw materials like coal, iron, oil, wool,

cotton, etc., and two-thirds of her seaborne trade comes from the Atlantic, while eighty per cent of her imports come over the Mediterranean. Her coastline is long and vulnerable and she can maintain contact with her African possessions, Libya, Eritrea and Abyssinia, only if she dominates the Mediterranean. For all these reasons, an economic blockade combined with an attack from British naval stations, like Malta and Cyprus, can create havoc for Italy and even strangle her. She may retaliate by attacking British possessions in the Mediterranean or British trade passing through that sea, but she can neither attack Britain nor touch Britain's sources of raw materials and food which lie outside the Mediterranean zone. Thus, matched against Britain in war, Italy is virtually helpless and can play a primarily defensive role.

And as long as Spain remains friendly to Britain, or even neutral, Italy's helplessness will remain unrelieved. Only with the help of Spain can Italy escape from her fatal strategic position. With Spain under her control, Italy could take the offensive against Britain. She could destroy Gibraltar and menace both the trade routes of Britain—the Mediterranean route and the cape route. What is more, she could get over the blockade by using the land routes over Spain in order to bring imports from the Atlantic side. As the advent of Air Force more than compensated Italy for the weakness of her navy, *vis-a-vis* Great Britain, during the Abyssinian campaign, so the control of Spain, or even a foothold in Spanish territory, would enable her to convert her present, fatally weak and defensive position into a strong, offensive one in the event of a future war.

Thus Italy is fighting Great Britain in Spain. She is helping Franco in order to get a foothold in Spanish territory.

After considering these strategic factors, one need not be surprised that Italy is so greatly interested in Franco's success. Rather, it is surprising that there should be people in England who sympathise with Franco and the rebels. As captain Liddell Hart, the well-known British strategist says in *Europe in Arms*:

'Strategically, the danger (to British interests) is so obvious that it is difficult to understand the eagerness and with which some of the most avowedly patriotic sections of the British public have desired the rebels' success.'

This is probably a case of political prejudice (*viz.*, hatred of the Socialists and communists) overriding the dictates of self-interest.

Notwithstanding all that I have just said, it has to be pointed out that Italy today is on the whole a satisfied power. She resents British supremacy in the Mediterranean and she thinks that as in days of yore, the Mediterranean should be a Roman lake. But she will not go to any extreme in her conflict with Great Britain. Intervention in the Spanish Civil War is all right for her, because she knows full well that none of the Big Powers is yet ready for an international war. Mussolini is far too shrewd a politician to stake his position or the position of his country in a risky adventure in the near or distant future. Therefore, we may rest assured that Italy will not take the offensive, in disturbing the peace of Europe—nor will she enter into a war unless she is pretty sure of victory.

But the Germany under Hitler is an incalculable factor, despite the sober and cautious policy of the Reichswehr, the German Army. Nazi Germany has been dreaming dreams which can be fulfilled only through the arbitrament of war. Moreover, the economic crisis within Germany has been growing so acute, that many observers opine that the day is not far off when she may have to launch on a war abroad, in order to stave off discontent at home. To understand the future of Germany, we shall have to probe a little deeper.

Since the Great War there has been a French hegemony on the Continent. Not content with crushing Germany, France erected a diplomatic wall around Germany through alliances with Poland and with the Little Entente—the succession states, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Roumania. She followed this up by establishing cordial relations with Turkey which was formerly within the German orbit of influence. Germany looked on helplessly while she was thus diplomatically isolated from the civilized world. Her only reply to this policy of encirclement was the Treaty of Rapallo with Soviet Russia.

French hegemony in post-War Europe has been anathema to Germany whose influence on the Continent had been paramount since the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, resulting in the ignominious defeat of France. Since then, Germany had been expanding in several directions. Outside Europe she went in for

colonial expansion. In the sphere of trade she bid fair to be a rival to Great Britain and the U.S.A. She built a powerful navy which was looked upon with suspicion by Britain. She brought Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey within her sphere of influence and planned the Berlin-Baghdad Railway which was regarded as a thrust at Britain's Eastern possessions. But the War smashed all these achievements and aspirations and for a decade Germany lay in the slough of despair, while her thinkers began to philosophise about the decline of the West and Spengler wrote his *Untergand des Abend-Landes.* Then came the new awakening through the emergence of the National-Socialist or Nazi Party.

The political doctrine of the Nazi Party can be summed up in one phrase—'Drang Nach Osten'—or 'Drive to the East.' The doctrine was first propounded by Muller van den Bruck in his book, *Das dritte Reich* or 'the Third Empire.' He did not live to see the establishment of the third Reich under Hitler in 1933, for he committed suicide in 1925 in a fit of despair. His idea was, however, taken up by Hitler and amplified in his (Hitler's) book *Mein Kampf,* or 'My Struggle,' which he wrote in prison in 1923. The essence of the above doctrine is that Germany should give up the idea of being a naval or colonial power. She should remain a continental power and her expansion should take place on the Continent—towards the East. It was pre-War Germany's greatest blunder to go in for colonial expansion and thereby come into conflict with Great Britain.

The new social philosophy of the Nazis, as expounded by Hitler, advocates the purification and strengthening of the German race through elimination of Jewish influence and a return to the soil. 'Blunt und Boden,' or 'Blood and Soil,' foreign policy, the Nazis advocate the unification of all German-speaking peoples and the acquisition eastward of more elbow-room for the prolific German race. In practical politics, the above objectives amount to the annexation 1) of Austria,* 2) of Memel which she has lost to Lithuania, 3) of Danzig which has been made a free city under the League of Nations, 4) of the German-speaking part of Czechoslovakia with a

* Since this was written the 'Anschluss' or union with Austria has already been achieved by the Nazis.

population of 3½ millions, 5) of the Polish Corridor and the Silesian coalfields which she has lost to Poland, 6) of the rich grain-producing lands of Soviet Ukraine and 7) possibly also of the German-speaking parts of Switzerland, Italian Tyrol and other adjoining countries.

Germany repudiated the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles in March, 1935, occupied the Rhineland in March, 1936, and upset all calculations of European diplomats when she achieved the 'Anschluss' without firing a shot. Her continued rearmament under these circumstances can have but one meaning, *viz.*, preparation for war. Her re-armament has driven the last nail in the coffin of international disarmament, and in sheer panic the whole of Europe is now engaged in rearming. When such frantic preparations for war are going on all round, the slightest incident may one day light an international conflagration.

It now remains for us to consider to what extremes Germany will go to realise her aims. At what stage will she go in for war and with whom?

Political prophecy is always a difficult job—but one thing is certain. Germany has not forgotten the lessons of her last defeat. Hers was not a military defeat, but an economic one. And it was the British Navy which was primarily responsible for starving her to submission. It is therefore certain that Germany will not enter into a war if she knows that Britain will be against her. In 1914, Germany foolishly enough, did not believe till the last moment that Britain would take up the gauntlet on behalf of Belgium and France. It is now generally admitted by historians that if Britain had made her intentions known to Germany beforehand, the latter would probably have kept aloof from the Austro-Serbian conflict and thereby averted—or at least postponed—the World War.

Though in his book, *Mein Kampf*, Hitler asked for a final show-down with France, Germany's foreign policy has been modified since the Nazis assumed the reins of office. Germany no longer wants to get back Alsace-Lorraine from France or Eupen-Malmady from Belgium. In other words, Germany does not demand a revision of the frontiers in Western Europe. The reason for this is not far to seek. Germany knows quite well that an attack

on France or Belgium or Holland will bring Britain into the arena at once and there would probably be a repetition of the last war. Germany has therefore been continually offering to sign a Western Pact which would guarantee the status quo in Western Europe. For a large number of British politicians this offer is a tempting one, because it removes once for all any possible threat to British interests. Germany while making this offer has been striving hard to drive a bargain at the international counter, her demand being that Britain and France should cease to interest themselves in Central and Eastern Europe so that Germany may have free hand in rearranging the map of that part of the world.

Germany is now preparing in three directions. Firstly, she is going in for an all-round re-armament. Secondly, she is trying to make herself self-sufficient as regards the supply of food and basic raw-materials. (This is a provision against a future economic blockade.) This work was started last year in accordance with Germany's Four-Year Plan. Thirdly, she is trying to persuade the Western Powers to agree to neutrality in the event of a war in Central or Eastern Europe. Until all these preparations are complete, it is extremely doubtful if Germany will voluntarily launch a war.

To win over Britain to an attitude of neutrality, Germany has launched a large-scale propaganda in that country and she has already attained a fair measure of success. In this effort, Germany has exploited the general hatred of Communism which can be found among the richer and middle classes in Britain. The Franco-Soviet Pact has come handy and the Nazis continually emphasise that for Britain to be tied up with France means fighting a war in Eastern Europe on the side of Soviet Russia, though Britain has no interest in that zone. Alongside of this, the Nazis pledge themselves not to harm British interests in any quarter of the globe. As a result of this endeavour, there is an influential pro-Nazi group in Great Britain—with supporters in the House of Lords, in the City of London and generally among the ruling classes even among the Labourites, though they are attracted by different reasons. It is generally believed that Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, Premier Neville Chamberlain and Sir Robert Vansittart, formerly the strong man in the Foreign Office, are all pro-Nazi.

It is too early to say if Britain's foreign policy will ultimately follow a straight line or if it will continue to wobble, as it has often done in the past. At the present moment, British public opinion is terribly confused. Firstly, there is the pro-Nazi group, referred to above, who wants a Western Pact and no commitments in Central and eastern Europe. Secondly, there is the anti-German Conservative Party represented by Winston Churchill who are distrustful of the Nazis and apprehend that when Germany is once supreme in Europe, she will challenge British interests abroad. They point out in this connection that Britain has nothing to fear from France and that outside Europe, British and French colonial interests are everywhere bound up together. Thirdly, there are the Socialists and Communists who on ideological grounds are anti-German and pro-French in their general attitude.

In the midst of this confusion, the British Foreign Office is following a definite policy, *viz.*, to persuade France to give up her interest in Central and Eastern Europe. The aim of Vansittart's policy, now continued by Lord Halifax, is to force Germany to be and to remain a European Continental Power. That is why Britain has acquiesced in German rearmament, made the Naval Agreement with Germany in June, 1935, advised France to ignore German Military occupation of Rhineland in March, 1936, warned France not to help the Spanish Government though she was clearly entitled to do so under International Law. It is further alleged by those who are in a position to know diplomatic secrets that the British Foreign Office encouraged Poland in 1933 to come to terms with the Nazi Government. (The German-Polish non-Aggression Pact was adopted next year.) It also encouraged Belgium to break the alliance with France and return to neutrality and Jugoslavia to make friends with Italy and Germany, against the advice of France. It further encouraged the pro-Nazi Henlein Party in Czechoslovakia and intrigued for breaking, or at least slackening, the bonds of the little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Roumania) and of the Balkan Entente (Jugoslavia, Roumania, Greece and Turkey) which are under French influence.

It would not be improper to conclude from the above facts that the British Foreign Office has been secretly working contra France,

at least in Europe, and that French hegemony on the Continent is distasteful to Whitehall. Perhaps because of this, French politicians of the Right were greatly annoyed with Great Britain and Laval proceeded to make alliances with Italy and Soviet Russia, independently of Britain. In fact, Laval's foreign policy might, from one point of view, be regarded as anti-British. But French politicians of the Left follow blindly the policy of the British Foreign Office, believing that France and Britain should hold together through thick and thin.

At present the German Foreign Office is playing an aggressive role, while France is busy trying to counteract the former's moves and activities. Outside Britain, the Nazis have been remarkably successful in Belgium. A pro-Nazi Party (the Rexists) has come into existence in Belgium and Nazi propaganda is active among the Flemish-speaking people of Belgium. The Belgium Government has broken away from the alliance with France and will in future adopt an attitude of neutrality in the event of war in Central or Eastern Europe. The treaty of Rapallo with Soviet Russia has virtually lapsed since the Nazis came to power in 1933; but as if to compensate Germany for that, the Nazi Government entered into a non-Aggression Pact with Poland. This Pact served to undermine greatly French influence in Poland. Last year, France made gigantic efforts to recover her influence in Poland and a number of visits took place on both sides. But it seems probable that the Franco-Polish Alliance will never become a living force again and that in future Poland will follow an independent foreign policy—that is, a policy of neutrality in the event of a Franco-German or Russo-German conflict.

In addition to the above activities, Germany is now exceedingly busy in trying to weaken France by slackening the bonds of the Little Entente and Balkan Entente and by getting a foothold in Spanish territory. With the help of several alliances and friendly contacts, the position of France today is exceedingly strong and as long as this position continues, she will never agree to withdraw her interest in Central and Eastern Europe. She will continue to insist—as Litvinov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, also does—that pease is indivisible and that there should be one European Pact to

guarantee collective security to all the states under the aegis of the League of Nations. Failing this, besides the Western Pact, there should be another Pact to guarantee peace in Central and Eastern Europe. To this, Germany does not agree and will not agree.

France has fortified herself with military alliances with Czechoslovakia and Soviet Russia. The two latter powers have also a military alliance between themselves. Consequently, these three powers will always be found together in the event of an international emergency. Czechoslovakia has an understanding with the other Little Entente powers, Jugoslavia and Roumania. And Jugoslavia and Roumania have an understanding with Greece and Turkey through the Balkan Entente. Germany hopes that by weaning away Jugoslavia and Roumania, she will isolate Czechoslovakia in Central Europe—for help from Russia can reach Czechoslovakia only through Roumania or through Poland. Poland is no longer a problem to Germany because of the non-aggression pact. Through Britain, she is trying to persuade France that as a military factor, Soviet Russia is not of much consequence and that France should give the go-by to the military clauses of the Franco-Soviet Pact. The recent execution of eight Army Generals in Russia has given a handle to the capitalist powers and they are carrying on a terrific propaganda to the effect that the Soviet military machine is racking with undiscipline and cannot be relied on in the event of war. Last but not least, Germany is trying her level best to obtain a foothold in Spanish territory, so that in the event of war with France she could stab her in the back by cutting off her communications with North Africa, from where France always obtains large supplies of men and materials when war breaks out in Europe. Germany hopes that by weakening France on all sides and by putting pressure on her through the British Foreign Office, she will ultimately make her agree to a Western Pact, giving Germany a free hand in Central and Eastern Europe. If France does not agree to this and if she ultimately goes to war with Germany on the side of Soviet Russia, she will find herself considerably weakened compared to what she was in 1914.

But will France fall in with Germany's plans? Ostensibly not. For Britain it is immaterial who dominates the Continent—France or Germany—for Britain's interests lie outside Europe. But France

cannot so easily give up the hegemony in Europe for, unlike Britain, she is a Continental Power, besides being a Colonial Power. Moreover, France is fighting not merely for power and prestige, but also for her national safety. She has not forgotten the tragic defeat of 1870. Her population is stationary and is about two-thirds of that of Germany, whose population is still growing. Consequently, France has a genuine horror of German invasion, while Britain has not, as long as the German Navy keeps to the prescribed limits of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement. To crown everything, there is in France, a deep distrust of German aims and aspirations which has been accentuated by violent denunciations of France in Hitler's book, *Mein Kampf*. As a writer has put it succinctly, in France the Right hates Germany, the Left hates Hitler. I these circumstances, it is extremely doubtful if France will ever give up her allies and alliances in Central and Eastern Europe as long as the violently nationalistic Nazi Party remains in power.

The issue of the Spanish Civil War is hanging in the balance and it is too early to say how far German diplomacy will succeed there. But in Central and Eastern Europe it has made considerable headway. In Roumania, the King and the Cabinet are, on the whole, pro-German and the Francophile ex-Foreign minister, Titulescu, lost considerable influence. There is an anti-Semitic pro-Nazi Party, the Iron Guard, led by Codreanu, which is behind the Government. In Jugoslavia, the Premier Stoyadinovitch is pro-Nazi, as also his Government, while the Royal Family is under British influence. In Greece, the Premier General Metaxas, who has made himself the Dictator, is undoubtedly under German influence. And Greece is important to Germany, because should the Russian Fleet in the Black Sea enter the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles, it could be attacked from a base in the Grecian Islands. Then Hungary and Bulgaria, being 'Have-not' powers, are expected to line up with Germany, if they see any chance of having their national grievances redressed thereby. Thus it appears that Germany has stolen a march over France throughout the Balkan Peninsula and she has been throwing out commercial baits in profusion.

But in international politics there is no finality. France is following on the heels of Germany everywhere. It is difficult to predict

how long the Governments of Metaxas in Greece or Stoyadinovitch in Jugoslavia will last. The pro-French party in Roumania, though out of power for the time being, is not negligible and the Balkan temperament is proverbially changeable. Moreover, Germany finds pitted against herself, one of the finest diplomats of modern Europe, President Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia.

The scene is changing from day to day and political forecasts are anything but easy. One thing is certain. If war comes, it will come as the result of a German challenge to the status quo in Central and Eastern Europe. But will it come? The answer rests primarily with Britain. Germany will not repeat the errors of 1914 and will not go into a war, if she knows that Britain will be against her. She might be trapped into it as she was in 1914, thinking that Britain would keep out of it. If France and Britain agree to be neutral in a conflict in Central or Eastern Europe, war will break out in Europe, as sure as the sun rises in the East, the moment Germany is ready for it. Even if France lines up with Soviet Russia, with Britain remaining neutral, there may be a war, though the upshot of it will be doubtful.

If Franco wins, it will be a victory for Italy and Germany, and will mean the end of British hegemony in the Mediterranean and dark days ahead of France. But Russian Colossus has often proved to be an enigma. It baffled Napoleon—the conqueror of Europe. Will it baffle Hitler?

Dalhousie
21 August 1937

Bijay Kumar Basu

The death of Mr B.K. Basu came as a profound shock to all of us. He had been in indifferent health for some time past—but no one ever dreamt that he would leave us so soon and so suddenly.

Mr Basu was not a congressman. In spite of our close relationship, politically we stood poles apart. And as often happens in this

country, political differences affected social relations as well. Nevertheless, I may say unhesitatingly that he commanded respect in every quarter. That was not due entirely to his sharp manners or his genial temperament. He had character. Right or wrong, he had certain principles and in his 'moderatism' he was sincere. Moreover, he had ability. That is why his services were requisitioned by the Government from time to time in the Calcutta Corporation, in the Council of State, in the provincial Government and at Geneva. He had a ripe judgement and in his views he was accommodating. He could, therefore, make friends in every camp. When he took a stand, he was always dependable. Undoubtedly he was popular in the Corporation—otherwise he would not have been elected Alderman more than once and also as Mayor of Calcutta.

Mr Basu was hardworking. Whatever work he undertook, he always gave his best to it. We often wished that he had joined the Congress, for if he had, he would certainly have been an acquisition to that party. He leaves no enemies behind—but many, many to mourn his death.

Above all, he was a gentleman. The world needs more gentlemen like him.

Standing in the presence of death, let us pay our silent tribute of respect to his memory. May his soul rest in peace!

4 September 1937

Japan's Role in the Far East*

Every now and then we open our daily papers to read about some clash between China and Japan. Many pass over the columns as something happening too far away to interest us in India. Others go through the columns as a matter of routine. But I wonder how few of us understand the significance of the happenings reported.

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The islands which form the homeland of the Japanese race are overpopulated. They have to support a population of about 70 millions, with the result that there is overcrowding and too much pressure on the land. But that is not the end of the trouble. The Japanese are exceedingly prolific, and their population has been growing by leaps and bounds. The number of people per square mile in China is 100. In Japan it is 313. Moreover, Japan's birth rate is twice that of Great Britain. Hence Japan wants more territory for her children to settle in—more raw materials for her growing industries and more markets for her finished goods. No one will make her a present of these three things—hence the resort to force. The only other solution for Japan is, to restrict her population, through birth-control, and live within her own resources—but that solution does not obviously appeal to her. This is, in short, the *raison d'être* of Japanese imperialist expansion.

Japanese expansion can take place only in the face of Chinese, Russian, British or American opposition. If she expands on the Asiatic mainland, she is bound to incur the wrath of China or Russia. If she expands southward—towards the Philippine Islands or Australia—she is bound to come into conflict with the United States of America or Great Britain. As far as one can judge, Japan seems to have decided in favour of the first course, notwithstanding the appeal made by Lt.-Commander Ishimaru in his book *Japan Must Fight England* to the effect, that she should make up with China, Russia and the U.S.A., and concentrate on fighting England. On the Asiatic mainland the territory on which Japan can cast her eyes belongs either to Russia or to China. To attack Russia would be folly for Japan, because under Soviet Rule, Russia is fully re-awakened. She has, moreover, a first-class military machine, both in Europe as well as in the Far East.

Therefore, the only alternative left to Japan for satisfying her imperialist ambitions is to expand at the expense of China. But though she may expand at the expense of China, that expansion can take place only in the teeth of Russian opposition, for reason that will be explained below. So far as Britain is concerned, however much she may dislike the growth of Japanese power on the Asiatic continent, she will put up with the nuisance, knowing full well that

the only alternative to it would be expansion to the south, bringing Japan into direct and unavoidable conflict with her; and in her present mood, the U.S.A. will certainly not go to war with Japan over her 'interests' in the Far East.

Being an Asiatic country and living in close proximity to a huge continent, it is but natural that Japan should look primarily to the mainland of Asia to fulfil her imperialist needs. There she finds a huge state—formerly the Celestial Empire, and now the Republic of China—ill-managed and disunited, and with more natural resources than she can herself develop. The vastness, the potential richness, and the internal weakness of China, constitute the greatest temptation for Japan.

The conflict between the two Asiatic countries is more than forty years old. It began towards the end of the last century. By that time, Japan had modernised her state-machinery, with the help of modern methods, and had modern weapons of warfare. She found that all the big European Powers had begun to exploit China and to enrich themselves at her expense. Why, then, should not Japan, an Asiatic Power living next-door, do the same and keep out the Western Powers from draining the Wealth of the East? This was the imperialist logic which started Japan on her race for expansion.

During the last forty years, Japan has not lost a single opportunity for wresting concessions from the Chinese Government, and during this period she has been undermining the influence of the Western exploiting powers, slowly and steadily. Her greatest rivals were Russia, Britain, the U.S.A. and Germany. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, she was able to checkmate the Czarist Empires. During the Great War she was able to wipe out Germany from the map of China. But she has not been able to tackle Britain and the U.S.A. And in the meantime Russia, which was once beaten, has come back into the picture as a Soviet State, newly armed and considerably strengthened.

The disintegration of China began during the latter half of the nineteenth century. European powers like Britain, Russia, Germany, etc., and the U.S.A. put pressure on China, and obtained 'treaty-ports' like Hong Kong, Shanghai, etc., which virtually

amounted to annexation of Chinese territory. Just before the end of the last century, Japan appeared on the scene and also adopted Western tactics in her dealings with China.

The island of Formosa lying to the south-east of China was acquired by Japan in the War of 1904–1905. About the same time Japan took over the Kwantung Railway, and the southern part of the Chinese Eastern Railway, running through Manchuria, thereby making South Manchuria a Japanese sphere of influence. Korea, formerly Chinese territory, was annexed by Japan openly in 1910, and it is interesting to note that Japan had professed to secure its independence, when she went to war with China in 1894. During the Great War, Japan declared war on Germany, and immediately proceeded to seize Tsingtao and other German possessions in the Shantung peninsula. In 1915, when she found all the Western Powers up to their neck in the war, Japan presented 21 demands to China, and extorted several concessions from her. After the war, Japan received as her share of the spoils, the mandate for the ex-German Pacific Islands, the strategic importance of which lies in their position athwart the direct sea-route from the United States to the Philippine Islands.

Then there was a lull in Japanese expansion for a period, since Japan wanted time to assimilate what she had annexed. The next period of feverish activity began in 1931 with the conquest of Manchukuo (Manchuria), when Manchukuo, formerly Chinese territory, was set up as a nominally independent state, just as Korea was in 1895. The present expansionist drive, which has been continuing since 1941, can be traced to the now famous, or rather notorious Tanaka Memorandum of 1928, in which plans for Japan's future expansion on the Asiatic mainland were clearly laid down. From this brief historical survey it should be clear that Japan's determination, to find more elbow-room for herself in this planet of ours, is unshakable. Outward circumstances can hardly thwart this imperious drive and can at best determine the direction and speed of her expansion.

A scientific examination of the internal economy of Japan will clearly explain Japan's military aggression since 1931. It is easy to understand, her need for fresh territory, when her population is

growing, and her existing territory is already too scanty for her present population. Looking to her industrial system, one finds that Japan has to import all her important raw materials, *viz.*, cotton, wool, pulp, iron, oil, etc., from a great distance. The expansion of her industrial system, like her need for territory, is necessitated by the growth of population. Therefore, to maintain her large population, Japan requires a safe and regular supply of raw materials. The expansion of industries, again, requires new markets.

Now, how are all these needs to be fulfilled? Will China, of her own accord, give up territory for colonization to Japan? Will she allow Japan to exploit her vast resources in raw materials, and her extensive market? Certainly not. Both national honour and self-interest will stand in the way. Further, the European Powers and the U.S.A. will not voluntarily permit Japan to monopolise China—her resources and her market. They will insist to the last on the 'Open Door' policy in China which permits all Powers to share the Chinese spoils. Hence Japan has to seize Chinese territory by force. She has been doing this by stages, biting off one slice at a time and taking time to digest it. Each attack is preceded by certain border incidents, which are carefully stage-managed, in order to serve as a pretext for Japanese aggression. The tactics are the same, whether one observes the north-western frontier of India, or Walwal in Abyssinia, or the Manchurian frontier in the Far East.

Japan's imperialist needs and demands in the Far East, can be fulfilled only if she can establish her political hegemony over China, to the exclusion of the white race, and by virtually scrapping the 'Open Door' policy. Time and again, her politicians have said as much in so many words. For instance, Japan's spokesmen have often said that she has special interests in the Far East, which cannot be compared to those of any other Western Power—that is, Japan's mission to umpire the Far East and maintain peace in that quarter, etc. No doubt, besides the purely economic motive, the Japanese are inspired by the desire to found an Empire, and the consciousness of being an unconquered race whets their imperialist appetite. Incidentally, the foundation of an empire abroad enables the fascist elements in Japanese society to get the upper hand.

If China could somehow persuade herself to accept the political

and economic suzerainty, or patronage of Japan, the Sino-Japanese conflict would end in no time. This is what Hirota, Japan's foremost diplomat, has been trying to achieve for the last three years. His speeches have been extremely conciliatory on the surface, with a constant appeal for Sino-Japanese co-operation. Now, what is the objective of this co-operation? Obviously, the enrichment of Japan, and the virtual enslavement of China. But this naked truth cannot be blurted out—hence the slogan is 'Co-operation in a joint defence against Communism.' This slogan not only serves to cloak Japanese motives, but at the same time conciliates all anti-socialist elements whether in Japan, China, or elsewhere. Thus, the Indian papers of the 7th August, 1937, gave the following account of Hirota's foreign policy:

'Declaring that a major point in Japan's requests to China was co-operation in a joint defence against communism, M. Hirota in the House of Representatives said, he believed that Sino-Japanese co-operation was possible if the radical elements in China, particularly the communists, were effectively controlled. He added, the Japanese Government wished to settle the North China incident on the spot, and at the same time to effect a fundamental re-adjustment of Sino-Japanese relations.'

And similar statements in similar language have been made ever since Hirota first became Japan's Foreign Minister a few years ago.

Can China submit to this demand even if it brings her peace? My own view is that left to himself, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, the Dictator of the Nanking Central Government, would have done so. At heart he is violently anti-Communist and since the split in the Kuomintang (Chinese National Party) in 1927, when he managed to establish his supremacy, he has spared no pains to exterminate the Chinese Communists and their allies. But Marshal Chiang has encountered consistent opposition from two quarters. The Western provinces of China, known as the Chinese Soviet States, being practically independent of Nanking, have kept up the fight against Japan and, on this point, have faithfully echoed the feelings of the Chinese masses. Secondly, the Western Powers with their vast interests in China, and with their prestige to maintain before the Eastern races, cannot easily persuade themselves to scuttle

the foreign investments in Latin America (Central and South America). Regarding British investments in China, the following extract from the *London Times* of the 19th August, 1937 is illuminating:

'British direct interests in China are worth about 250 million pounds, made up of 200 million pounds in business investments, and 50 million pounds in government obligations. Of the total sum, about 180 million pounds is tied up in Shanghai, and of this 180 million of high proportion is in the Settlement district, north of the Soochow Creek. This is the district now being most heavily shelled and bombed. It is where most of the Public Utility offices and works, and where most of the large mercantile businesses, are established.'

The *Times* writer goes on to point out with dismay, that whilst previously this district has been policed under British Superintendents, the police stations have been evacuated and occupied by the Japanese. The White Races are consequently alive to the fact, that Japanese hegemony over China will mean not only the subjugation of the latter, but their own exclusion from the Far East. Since the geography of a country often determines military strategy, it is necessary to note the salient features in the geography of China.

China's most important lines of communication are her three great rivers: the Hwang-ho (or Yellow River) in the North, the Yang-tse in the Centre, and the Si-Kiang in the South. The entrance to the Si-Kiang is controlled by the British port of Hongkong; to the Yang-tse by Shanghai, which is jointly held by the foreign powers with Britain and America predominating. The entrance to the Hwang-ho is dominated by Japan, entrenched first in Korea and now in Manchuria (Manchukuo) as well. The one practicable land route into China is that from the north. Along this route the Mongols and the Manchus entered China proper, and in the years preceding the Great War, both Russia and Japan had their eyes on it. Since 1931, Japan has been aiming at the possession of this route, and the country adjoining it, and since July, 1937, fighting has been going on in this area. It should be remembered in this connection that high mountains separate China proper from the western part of the Republic (*viz.*, Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan).

The consequence of this is that the land route to China proper is from the north and we find that historically the power which has controlled Manchuria has always been in a strong position to dominate China.

In order to understand in their proper perspective the events in the Far East since 1931, it is necessary to understand the broad lines of Japanese strategy. Since Japanese hegemony in China through peaceful penetration was not possible, Japan laid down her plans for a military conquest of China, or at least for military pressure on her. To achieve this objective, Japanese strategy had to work along two lines; firstly, to break up Chinese unity and secondly, to make it impossible for any other power to come to the aid of China. This purpose could be served only if Japan could seize the entire northern part of the Republic, including Manchukuo, Mongolia and northern China proper. These territories taken together form a compact mass, cutting off Russian Siberia from China proper (the valleys of Hwang-ho, Yangtse and Si-kiang rivers). A reference to the map will show that if Japan holds this area, she can in the event of war with Russia, penetrate through outer Mongolia and cut the Trans-Siberian railway at Lake Baikal. And if Russia can be effectively isolated, no other country can come to China's rescue in an emergency. We shall see how Japan has progressed in the task of absorbing this area since 1931.

It is necessary to note at the outset that Japan never lays all her cards on the table and she proceeds with her aggression cautiously, taking care that she is not attacked by any other power when her own hands are full. Moreover, she always manages to stage some 'incident' in order to give her a pretext for seizing Chinese territory. The first 'incident' was staged on September 18th, 1931, by Lieutenant Kawamoto of the Japanese Imperial Army, who was reconnoitring along the South Manchuria Railway track. This led to the seizure of Mukden the next day, and of the whole of Manchuria Railway track. This led to the seizure of Mukden the next day, and of the whole of Manchuria within a short period. At that time, the whole world was in the grip of an acute economic depression and Russia was feverishly pushing on her first Five-Year plan. Japan was, therefore, sure that there would be no effective

challenge to her predatory moves. The Lytton Commission sent out by the League of Nations reported against Japan and following that, the League Assembly condemned the Japanese seizure of Manchuria. But Japan snapped her fingers at the League and walked out. This was followed by the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Manchukuo by the Soviet Union in 1933, and in 1934 the Russo-Manchukuo Waterways Agreement was adopted. Though Manchukuo was not given *de jure* recognition by the other powers, she obtained *de facto* recognition from most of them.

Manchukuo is a huge territory with plenty of room for colonisation, though the climate is severe and it is rich in several raw materials including coal. Moreover, it is exceedinglv useful as a jumping-off ground for Japan in the event of war with Soviet Russia. Many people thought that it would take Japan years to develop Manchukuo and in the meantime, there would be peace in the Far East. But they were mistaken. Both on economic and on strategic grounds, Manchukuo cannot stand by itself. Only a part of the raw materials desired by Japan can be found there and the Manchukuan market is not big enough for Japan. Moreover, strategically Manchukuo is exceedingly weak, there being hostile territory on all sides. consequently to satisfy her economic needs and to ensure the safety of the new state, Japan had to continue her aggression further.

In 1932, another 'incident' was staged in Shanghai and the Shanghai War between China and Japan started. The upshot of it was that China was forced to demilitarise a certain area near Shanghai, and submit to a few other Japanese conditions. The strategic importance of Shanghai was not so clear in 1932, but the present war (1937) has brought it to light.

By 1933, the consolidation of Manchukuo under the puppet Emperor, Pu Yi, was complete and Japan was ready for further extension of her frontiers. Fighting took place in North China outside the frontiers of Manchukuo. The Japanese troops seized Jehol and a slice of Chahar and marched up to the gates of Peking (now called Peiping). Vanquished in battle, the Chinese had to bow to the inevitable and see another slice of their territory annexed by Japan. The war ended with the Tangku Truce in 1933.

The year 1934 was comparatively uneventful but hostilities

broke out again in 1935. As always happens with Japan, a fresh act of aggression was preceded by conciliatory speeches and a show of moderation in foreign policy. On January 23rd, 1935, Hirota delivered an address, advocating a policy of non-aggression and the adoption of a 'good neighbour' policy with a view to effecting a rapprochement with China. This time, the slogan adopted by the Japanese was an autonomous North China (like an autonomous Manchukuo) and the Central Government of Nanking (new capital of China) was told not to interfere with Japanese activities and negotiations in North China. But Nanking could not wholly oblige Japan and the people of North China did not want to walk into the Japanese trap as blindly as the Manchurians had done in 1931. The result was that the Japanese plans did not succeed. Nevertheless, when the conflict was finally liquidated, it was found that China had virtually lost another portion of her territory.

In 1933, Jehol and a part of Chahar had been absorbed by Manchukuo. Now, a demilitarised zone was created in Hopei province with its capital at Tungchow, 12 miles east Peiping, called the East Hopei autonomous area. In charge of this area was a Chinese renegade, Yin-Ju-Keng, and the territory was under Japanese domination. (Later on, large-scale smuggling went on within this area, presumably with Japanese connivance, with a view to evading the Chinese Customs.) Further, the remaining part of Hopei (which contains Peiping and Tientsin) and a portion of Chahar were combined into a separate administrative unit under the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, headed by General Sung Cheh Yuan, the strongest leader outside Nanking. This council, while afraid to oppose Japan openly, did not sever its connections with Nanking. In February, 1936, there was a military revolt in Tokyo and, for a time, the Japanese Government had its hands full at home. Nevertheless, it was not altogether inactive. With a view to strengthening her position internationally, Japan entered into a Pact with Germany—the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact. Towards the end of the year, in November, 1936, an attempt was made to push into Inner Mongolia down the Peiping-Paotow Railway, but the Mongol-Manchukuo mercenaries of Japan were

held at bay in the province of Suiyan by General Fu Tso I, with the aid of Nanking's troops.

It should be clear to any student of history that since 1931, Japan has been growing increasingly assertive not only in the Far East, but in world affairs in general. If she had not felt strong in the international sphere, she would never have ventured an aggression against China. We have already referred to her withdrawal from the League of Nations after the seizure of Manchuria. Prior to this she had allowed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to lapse, probably because she felt that she was powerful enough to do without it.

In the Washington Naval Treaty, Japan had agreed to the ratio 5:5:3 in the matter of warships, etc., as between Britain, U.S.A. and herself. When this treaty lapsed in 1935, Japan insisted on parity and since this was not agreed to by the other Powers at the London Conference, she contemptuously walked out of it. When Britain wanted to bring about an economic understanding with Japan in the matter of world-markets, Japan refused to discuss any markets except those which were directly controlled by the former, and the London Conference of 1935 between the two powers broke up. From all these facts it will be clear that when 1937 dawned, Japan was morally and internationally prepared for a major conflict in the Far East.

But sometimes even the most well-informed are led astray. Between March and July, 1937 Japan lulled the whole world into the belief that she was passing through an economic crisis, and was therefore unable to launch on any military aggression against China. Articles appeared in several American journals to show that while the rest of the world was enjoying an economic recovery, in Japan it was the reverse. Owing to this recovery, the price of raw materials had gone up considerably. Japan had to buy them at a high price and so her cost of production had gone up—making it virtually impossible for her to compete in the world-market successfully. (This statement is disproved by the remarkably low prices of Japanese textiles in India at the present time.) American Journalists took pains to argue that because of this economic crisis, Japan had decided to go slow with China and was therefore offering her the

hand of friendship. It was further argued that owing to the same reason, extreme militarists were out of favour for the time being and moderate politicians were getting the upper hand in Japan.

It now appears that Japan's moderation was simply a cloak to hide her real intentions, in order to lull her enemies to a sense of security. Japan chose this particular moment for attacking China for obvious reasons. Neither the U.S.A. nor Britain nor Russia is yet ready to challenge Japan in war. All of them are preparing feverishly and are piling up armaments and two or three years later, the outlook for Japan may be gloomy. It was therefore a case of 'now or never' for Japan, and she struck. She carefully prepared for this attack by a period of sober talk and moderate action. And when everybody felt convinced that Japan was thinking in terms of peace, she launched her attack. Thus writing on April 24th, 1937, the well-known journal of New York, *The Nation*, said: 'The prospects of peace in the Far East are greater than at any time since 1931.' Writing on June 26th, the same Journal remarked that there was a lull in Japan's offensive against China. But little did the writer know then that it was merely a lull before the storm.

Apart from Japan's general preparedness for another drive, certain factors precipitated the present crisis in the Far East. The Scian coup and the kidnapping of Marshal Chiang Kai Shek in December 1936 prepared the ground for a 'United Front' policy of China. There seems to be little doubt now that before Chiang was released by his captors, an understanding had been arrived at between the Chinese Soviets and Nanking Government on the basis of a common resistance against Japan. This understanding meant the completion of the unification of China for the first time in recent history. The Chinese Soviets were to give up their Communism and Separatism and submit to the direction of Nanking. Chiang was to lead united China against Japanese aggression and the Communist leaders, Chow En-lai and Chiang's own son were to fall in line with him. Japan came to know of this and attacked, before united China could proceed further with the work of consolidation.

The time is opportune for Japan in many ways. Though British, Russian and American re-armament is proceeding apace, as already stated, neither of them is yet ready for a conflict. It will still take

time for Britain to complete her Singapore base. The Neutrality Act adopted by the U.S.A. is a clear indication that she wants to keep out of every international conflict. The Russian Army, according to Fascist reports is seething with discontent and in any case is not as formidable as it appeared twelve months ago. The clash on the Soviet-Manchukuo border followed by the withdrawal on July 4th, 1937, of the Soviet troops from the disputed islands which belong to Russia under the 1860 Agreement with China—was a further proof that the Soviet Government was not prepared for a war.

Three days after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the Amur River, a fresh 'incident' was staged near Peiping and the attack on North China was resumed on July 8th, 1937.

Man is proverbially wiser after a calamity has befallen him. It is now reported by well-informed journalists that Japan had been preparing for this war for some time past. She is not satisfied with the occupation of Manchukuo. This country is too cold for Japanese immigrants. It has contributed only a small proportion of the raw materials needed by Japanese industry. It has, no doubt, brought some increase of trade to Japan, but his has been offset by the cost of administration and the losses incurred as a result of the competition of manchurian products in the Japanese market. On the other hand, economically North China (*viz.*, the provinces of Shantung, Hopei, Chahar, Shansi and Suiyan) offers far more than Manchukuo. There are iron deposits in Chahar, Shansi and Southern Hopei. Shansi has also high-grade coal. Moreover, tin, copper, gold and oil are scattered throughout the five provinces. The Yellow river (Hwang-ho) valley is suitable for the cultivation of cotton, which is now imported into Japan from India and America to the value of 400 million yen annually. And the climate is more favourable to Japanese immigration than that of Manchukuo, as well as to cattle-breeding.

The Japanese drew up plans for the exploitation of this territory some time ago, but Japanese capital was loath to come in, as long as the area remained under Chinese sovereignty. Hence, militarism had to come to the aid of capitalism.

Apart from the economic urge behind the present aggression,

there lurks the psychological factor. American journalists were partly right when they wrote during the earlier part of this year about the economic crisis in Japan, but their conclusions were wrong. Contrary to what they wrote, economic difficulties may instigate a 'totalitarian' government to launch on a war abroad in order to stave off discontent at home. (The same crisis may overtake Germany in the not distant future.) In the case of Japan, it may be averred that the economic difficulties which she encountered in the recent past as a result of her declining trade balance, made a revival of war-psychology necessary.

Further, since the defeat of the Japanese directed expedition against Suiyan (a province in North China) in November, 1936, it became apparent that the strategic areas of Inner Mongolia could only be obtained if the whole of North China were brought into subjugation. Without controlling Chahar and Suiyan, in particular, it is impossible to push into Inner Mongolia from the direction of Manchukuo.

Why is Japan so keen about Inner Mongolia, a barren country of little economic value? The reason is strategic rather than economic. It has been remarked above that Japan has been aiming at a compact mass of territory comprising Manchukuo, North China and Mongolia. Now, in the meantime, Soviet diplomacy has not been idle and two big provinces of the Chinese Republic have passed under Russian influence—Sinkiang (or Chinese Turkestan) and Outer Mongolia (the upper portion of Mongolia adjoining Soviet Russia). Sinkiang is not of much strategic importance to Japan (though it is to Soviet Russia owing to its proximity to India)—but Outer Mongolia is. With Outer Mongolia under her control, Soviet Russia can easily descend into North China. The only way to prevent this and cut off Russia permanently from China proper is to seize Inner Mongolia (the Southern part of Mongolia) and North China, and thereby form a compact corridor from West to East, separating Russian Siberia and Outer Mongolia from China proper. To annex this territory is at present Japan's objective. Once she succeeds in this effort, her next endeavour would be to build a strategic railway through this newly acquired territory from East to West. If she is able to consolidate her position there, she may then

think of moving into Outer Mongolia. What would then happen, it is difficult to predict. At present, Outer Mongolia is a Russian sphere of influence and the Soviet Government have declared very plainly that any move on the part of Japan within this territory would be tantamount to a *casus belli.*

But Japan has not given up all hope of uniting the Mongols under her suzerainty some time in future. Hence, Japanese agents often talk of 'Mengkukuo' as a worthy political ideal for all the Mongols. This plan, if it ever materialises, will be a counterpart of Manchukuo. It will give the Mongols their own state, with the Gilbertian facade of autonomy of course, but in reality under Japanese tutelage. There are approximately five million Mongols in the Far East. Two millions live in the Hsingan province of Manchukuo. A million live in Outer Mongolia—a territory half as large as the United States, but mostly desert. Another million live in Outer Mongolia—a territory half as large as the United States, but mostly desert. Another million live in Inner Mongolia, while about a million are scattered in Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), Tibet and Soviet Russia (Buriat Republic). The nucleus of the future Mongol State of 'Mengkukuo' has already come into existence with a Mongolian Political Council. Among the Mongol leaders who are under Japanese influence are Li Shouhsein and Prince Teh.

But while an 'autonomous' Mengkukuo may be a future project for Japan, an autonomous North China is her immediate objective.

Since the annexation of Manchukuo, Japanese influence in North China was steadily growing and this must have led them to hope that without a major conflict, another puppet state would be set up in the near future comprising the five provinces of North China. But the absorption of Canton province within Nanking's zone in the recent past, followed by the reported understanding of Marshal Chiang with the Chinese Communists in December last must have dashed Japanese hopes to the ground. A strong and united China was, at long last, rising before the world's eyes and that China would not give up her northern provinces without a fight.

Since January 1937, Nanking began to assert influence over North China officials. She interfered with the Japanese—protected

smuggling through East Hopei. She dared to order the suspension of the new Tientsin-Tokyo airline, established by Japan without Chinese consent. In Northern Chahar there was a small-scale rebellion of Manchukuan and Mongolian Troops against Japanese domination. Anti-Japanese incidents, were thus occurring with increasing frequency and not settled by abject submission to Japan's demands. To crown all, there was the report of an understanding between Nanking and the Chinese Communists which would bring into the field against Japan, the 90,000 seasoned soldiers belonging to the latter.

On July 3rd, 1937, the Japanese Ambassador, Shigeru Kawagoe, started negotiations with Nanking. Japan trimmed her sails and proposed the relinquishment of Japanese political control in North China, provided Nanking would recognize Manchukuo *de jure* and undertake 'economic co-operation' with Japan. Nanking is reported to have rejected this proposal and her counter-proposals fell short of Japanese requirements. No further proof was needed that a new China had come into existence which would soon exercise its full authority over the northern provinces. Therefore, Japan struck without delay and an 'incident' was staged at Lukouchaio, about 18 miles west of Peiping (Peking) when Japanese troops engaged in night-manoeuvres clashed with units of the Chinese Twenty-Ninth Army stationed in that area.

Looking at this incident legally, there can be no doubt that the Japanese were in the wrong. Though the Boxer Protocol of 1901 entitled them to station troops in the Peiping Legation quarter and at certain points in the Peiping-Tientsin railroad, they sent their troops outside the specified areas and obstructed, rather than maintained, communications with the sea—the purpose for which the protocol was designed. Soon after the clash, however, the Japanese Government made the following demands:

1) Withdrawal of the Twenty-Ninth Army from its present lines west of Peiping.
2) Punishment of the Chinese responsible for the conflict.
3) Adequate control of all anti-Japanese activities in North China; and
4) Enforcement of measures against communism.

It is reported that the Hopei-Chahar Political Council submitted to these demands on July 19th, and the terms of the settlement were published in Tokyo, on July 23rd. The expectation on the Chinese side was that both the Chinese and Japanese fighting forces would withdraw from the zone and it is extremely probable that Nanking would have reluctantly endorsed the above settlement. But when the Japanese troops did not leave the area, the subordinate officers and the rank and file of the Chinese troops refused to withdraw. On July 26th, the Japanese military commanders issued an ultimatum that the Chinese troops must withdraw by noon, July 28th. The latter refused to budge and the Japanese thereupon proceeded to evict them by force. Thus the war started.

Though Marshal Chiang, the Nanking Dictator, is not ready for a war, he has stood up to Japan and it is not likely that he will give in without a fight.

Japan is preparing for a long fight and the Japanese Diet has already voted large sums for the campaign. It is reported that she will spend up to £ 117,650,000 in order to carry on the war till the end of January, 1938.

The latest development in the Far Eastern War is the extension of the fight to the Shanghai area. On the 9th August a fresh 'incident' took place at the Hungjao aerodrome near Shanghai. Two Japanese naval officers were shot dead while attempting to enter the aerodrome. Thereupon, Japanese naval forces took drastic action to avenge the shooting and the Japanese Admiral demanded, among other things, that all Chinese troops should be withdrawn to a distance not less than 30 miles from Shanghai, and that all the defences prepared within the area should be immediately dismantled. The Chinese response to the demand was the movement into the Shanghai area of the 88th Division from Nanking in order to reinforce the local troops. The Japanese regarded this as a flagrant breach of the 1932 Agreement—but the Chinese retorted by saying that the Japanese themselves, by posting troops in Chinese territory and provocatively bringing a large fleet to the scene, had absolved China from any obligation to observe the terms of that Agreement.

Thus the war is going on along two fronts—Peiping and Shan-

ghai. A moot point in this connection is as to which party desired the extension of the war to the Shanghai front. In all probability the Japanese.

The Japanese, being blocked on land, as they were when Nanking troops moved into Hopei province, turned to the sea. The semi-circle of armies which Marshal Chiang threw round Peiping (under Japanese occupation) based on a well-prepared line efforts, was a bold and important strategic move. The left flank of the Government Army is at Nankow, the famous pass, where the Peiping-Paotow railway cuts through the hills. The centre of the semicircle depends on Paotingfu, 100 miles south of Peiping on the Hankow Railway. The right flank sweeps round to within 30 miles of Tientsin, also under Japanese occupation. The task of forcing this semicircle—'Hindenburg' line—is a formidable one. Hence, the decision from a strategic point of view to undermine Chinese resistance by attacking Shanghai.

If China has a heart, it is the financial and commercial centre at the mouth of the Yangtse. Japan is attacking this heart in order to disorganize the foreign-controlled industrial, commercial and financial centre of China with a view to imperilling the economic basis of the Central Government, demoralizing national feeling and terrifying the Chinese bourgeoisie. Shanghai is virtually at the mercy of the Japanese navy and an attack on this prosperous and ever-growing city is the obvious way to bring the war to a rapid conclusion. But the effectiveness of this thrust will depend on the extent of the dislocation of trade and of the material damage accruing from the war.

The war will go on for some time. Japan will try 'to paralyse the heart of China in order to amputate the limbs. China must stand or fall, therefore, by the war in Shanghai'—as an eminent strategist has declared. Will China be able to survive this blood-bath? If Canton remains open for supplies of armaments and the loss in revenue due to the fighting in Shanghai is not too serious—China may, perhaps, keep going sufficiently long to be able to endanger the social and economic stability of Japan. As against this consideration is the fact that the Japanese Navy is attempting a blockade of the Chinese ports and further, that there is a war fever

among the Japanese people, and there does not seem to be any difference between the aims of the military and the civilians in the Island Empire.

China has appealed once again to the League of Nations, as she did in 1931. But what is the value of this moribund League in such an emergency? World-opinion is, of course, on the side of China—but world-opinion is not of much value when pitted against machine-guns. The outlook for China is gloomy indeed. The mellow view that time is on China's side is not correct any longer. Today, China is fighting against time. God grant that she may succeed.

Japan has done great things for herself and for Asia. Her reawakening at the dawn of the present century sent a thrill throughout our Continent. Japan has shattered the white man's prestige in the Far East and has put all the Western imperialist powers on the defensive—not only in the military but also in the economic sphere. She is extremely sensitive—and rightly so—about her self-respect as an Asiatic race. She is determined to drive out the Western Powers from the Far East. But could not all this have been achieved without Imperialism, without dismembering the Chinese Republic, without humiliating another proud, cultured and ancient race? No, with all our admiration for Japan, where such admiration is due, our whole heart goes to China in her hour of trial. China must still live—for her own sake and for humanity. Out of the ashes of this conflict she will once again rise phoenix-like as she has so often done in the past.

Let us learn the lessons of this Far Eastern Conflict. Standing at the threshold of a new era, let India resolve to aspire after national self-fulfillment in every direction—but not at the expense of other nations and not through the bloody path of self-aggrandisement and imperialism.

19 September 1937.

On Tampering of Private Correspondence*

I feel that I should place before the public the result of my own enquiry and observation regarding the illegal tampering of my letters in transit. There is no room for doubt now that this tampering goes on with the connivance and co-operation of the Postal Department. Up till now, a great deal of ignominy has attached to members of the C.I.D. for their spying activities. Personally, I see no reason why the same ignominy should not attach to members of the Postal Department as well. The members of the C.I.D. have at least this to say in self-defence that they are employed and paid for doing secret spying. The postal officials, on the contrary, are employed and paid for doing one kind of work, but they sully their herds by becoming the accomplices of spies. What has surprised and pained me most is that some postal officials have, in reply to some of my inconvenient questions, made statements which are the opposite of Ministers. Central ministers must do something to restore the sanctity of private correspondence.

On the Punjab Situation**

Owing to certain unavoidable circumstances I feel constrained to leave Punjab earlier than I had originally intended. But before I do so, I have to thank from the bottom of my heart numerous friends and well wishers in Punjab for various acts of courtesy and kindness during my five months' stay in the province. I have to thank also the public of Dalhousie and the large number of visitors from outside who would greet me whenever I happened to meet them. It is hardly necessary for me to say that all this kindness made my sojourn in Dalhousie at once pleasant and enjoyable.

* Statement made to *United Press* by S.C. Bose on the eve of his departure for Calcutta from Lahore on 6th October 1937.
** S.C. Bose's Statement to *United Press*, 8 October 1937.

Situation in Punjab

During the last few months I have had opportunities of studying at close quarters the situation in the Punjab. I regret very much to say that I leave the province now with an unhappy feeling. It appears that the present Unionist government have inaugurated a policy of repression comparable to that of the prereform days. Prior to this, the Government had created a favourable impression in the minds of many people by such liberal measures as releasing a number of political prisoners, withdrawing the prosecution against State-prisoner Satindra Nath Sen, taking steps to check communalism, convening of a Unity Conference for inter-communal harmony, lifting of the ban on Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, scrapping the ill-conceived 'abattoir' etc.

The Government have well-nigh multiplied the effect of such measures by starting repression now. From enquiries that I have made, I gather that there is an impression in the minds of the public that the Government are concentrating on their political opponents. The Khalsa College incident involving the dismissal of several popular and distinguished professors is an instance in point for it is alleged that the members of the Government are behind it. If this impression be correct then I am afraid that the Governmental onslaught will not be confined to nationalist Sikhs, nationalist Muslims and Socialists, as it appears at present.

Civil Liberty of People

The first criterion of a popular Government is that it guarantees the civil liberty of the people. In the light of this criterion, what justification can there be for the action of the Government in still retaining in custody a large number of prisoners, both tried and untried, and in ordering fresh arrests? Further, what justification can there be for externing Sj. Sachindra Nath Sanyal and a friend of his? Whether the Ministry has issued this last order on its own initiative or has simply submitted to the fiat of the Governor, in either case it stands condemned. After the public disavowal of violence by Sj. Sachindra Nath Sanyal and his compatriots sub-

sequent to their release, any sensible Government would have welcomed their presence for inculcating the spirit of non-violence among the people.

A Political Farce

Against the background the convening of a Unity Conference is assuming the character of a political farce. What do the Unionist Government want—the unity of the people or the unity of the reactionary forces? If they aim at the former, the way they should set about their business is not by endeavouring to crush the progressive forces in the province.

A Reactionary Party

There can be little doubt now that whatever the paper programme of the Unionist party may be, in practice it is proving to be a reactionary party and behind the Ministerial curtains, the Governor not only reigns but rules. The position of the Unionist Party is, however, so impregnable for the time being that there is little hope of dislodging it from power during the life-time of the present Legislature. The only silver lining in the cloud that overhangs us is that within the Party itself there is a great deal of dissatisfaction and among the electorate the party is losing its former hold while socialist thought is becoming more and more popular with the masses. It has been a pleasant surprise to me to find that there is a distinct orientation of public opinion in favour of the Congress among those factions hitherto hostile or indifferent to the Congress. Will the Congress Party in the Punjab be able to utilise this opportunity and rally the people under its banner? If it does not, then communal organisations like the Muslim League will in all probability make headway in the province.

Congress in Punjab

If Punjab Congressmen can close up their ranks and seize the opportunity that has now presented itself, they can surely give the

Province a Congress majority in the Legislature 5 years hence. But will they do so? What strikes me as a friendly observer is that in the topmost of Congress leadership in the Province there is a want of generosity and large-heartedness. To unite the Congress party, Punjab must have a leader or leaders who will have the breadth of vision and largeness of heart to rise above groups and factions and stand for the people as a whole. With a rank and file that is radical in outlook and sound at heart, the Congress can come to its own in the Punjab in no time, if only the leaders will rise to the occasion. I hope and pray that this development may take place soon.

The Peasantry and Indian Nationalism*

Peasants' Rally in Calcutta.

Mr Subhas Bose on Congress Ideal.

'The Congress' declared Mr Subhas Chandra Bose addressing the gathering amidst deafening cheers, 'wants to end all sorts of exploitation whether such exploitation be by Government or by vested interests. The Congress wants to represent all classes. With the attainment of political independence India will win her economic independence too. She will once again be able to come to the forefront among the civilised nations of the world . . .'

* Excerpts of a speech on 10 October 1937 published in the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, 28 October 1937.

On the Bengal Situation*

It is with a heavy heart that I shall leave for Europe tomorrow morning for a brief sojourn. The situation in Bengal today is such that I have literally to tear myself away from the scene of so much anguish and distress; but I have no option before me, if I am to make myself physically fit as early as possible for the duties and responsibilities which confront us today. It was at the insistence of my Congress friends that I decided last month to interrupt my stay and recovery at Dalhousie in order to visit Calcutta for the All-India Congress Committee meeting. Since then owing to circumstances, of which the public are well aware, I have had to prolong my stay in Calcutta with the result that today I find that my body is altogether unable to cope with the strain which is unavoidable in active political life. I shall leave tomorrow with the ardent hope that with the dawn of the New Year, I shall be physically in a condition to resume my normal life after a gap of seven long years.

In my first utterance soon after my release in March last I referred to certain principles which would guide my future life and activity. I would emphasise once again that if Bengal desires to come back to her own she must fall in line with the principles, programme and policy of the Indian National Congress. Above all, it is necessary to discard and condemn methods of violence. It follows, therefrom, that secret groups and secret activities, if any such exist today, should also be liquidated once for all. Then only shall we be able to unite on the basis of a common socio-economic programme.

Today certain sections of the Bengali Community are permeated with the spirit of Communalism. Out of this poisonous atmosphere the Congress alone can rescue our people, for the Congress is the only national organisation in this land. I earnestly hope and trust that as we push on with our economic programme, which shall cut across all communal divisions and unite all sections of our community. I appeal to all those Muslims and members of the scheduled castes who have so far held aloof from the Congress to join the Congress fold. It is for them to capture the Congress

* S.C. Bose's Statement to the Press, 18 November 1937.

and make it their own organisation. If they do so we shall be content to be back-benchers.

It is not for me to say at this stage what will be the ultimate upshot of Mahatmaji's efforts to bring about the release of the detenus and the convicted political prisoners. I should like to draw the attention of the public to the serious responsibility we have incurred by inviting Mahatmaji to Bengal. I may take the public into my confidence and say that before Mahatmaji came to Calcutta I had informed him that from the point of view of non-violence the atmosphere of Bengal had never been so favourable before. I earnestly hope and trust that in future nothing will be said or done to disturb this atmosphere. On our ability to maintain an atmosphere of non-violence will depend the success of all the efforts that have been and will be made to effect the early release of the detenus and political prisoners. Bande Mataram.

To the Editor, *Hindusthan Standard* *23 November 1937*

Sir,

In your esteemed paper of the 18th instant you have said on page 6 that Mahatma Gandhi regretted his inability to see the litterateurs (on the question of *Bande Mataram*) for want of time. This statement is not quite correct.

As I had suggested to the literateurs the idea of a deputation on Mahatma Gandhi and later on I had suggested to Dr Suniti Chatterjee the idea of dropping it for the present, I feel called upon to explain what happened.

The Ministers had made an appointment with Mahatma Gandhi at 11:30 a.m. and we expected that it would take about an hour. So we had thought that 3:30 p.m. would suit Mahatma Gandhi and Dr Chatterjee was informed accordingly. On the day

in question (I think it was the 16th instant) we found that Mahatma Gandhi's blood pressure had gone up considerably and the Ministers changed their time to 12:30 p.m. We felt therefore that when Mahatmaji returned home after meeting the Ministers, he would be too tired to meet a deputation of such eminent personalities. I suggested to Dr Chatterjee the idea of dropping the arranged meeting for the present, and as soon as he heard of Mahatma Gandhi's indisposition, he very kindly agreed to do so. I am glad that this was done, because the talk with the Ministers lasted more than 3 hours and Mahatma Gandhi had to return home dead tired. The next day the meeting could not take place, because Mahatma Gandhi left for Hijli by a midday train.

Yours etc.

Subhas Chandra Bose

Karlsbad
and
Other watering-places of Czechoslovakia*

When I was in Prague in July 1933, I was able, through the courtesy of the Czechoslovakian Government, who made all the necessary arrangements for me, to visit some of the porcelain factories in Karlsbad. During my short visit to Karlsbad I was also able to see the mineral springs which have made Karlsbad so famous throughout the world. My interest in Karlsbad was roused further because in April, 1933, one of the Viennese professors who examined me had recommended a course of 'Karlsbad-cure' for the internal pain that I had been suffering from. It was, however, not till September 1934, that I was able to visit Karlsbad and drink the water of the famous mineral springs.

In August 1933, I paid a visit to another bathplace in Czecho-

* Published in the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, 31 December 1937.

slovakia, Franzensbad, which is about an hour's journey from Karlsbad. At that time the late Mr V.J. Patel was undergoing a course of treatment there for his heart trouble. Franzensbad is, of course, a much smaller place than Karlsbad and does not enjoy the same international reputation. Nevertheless, it is quite a decent place, specially suitable for diseases of the heart, diseases of women, rheumatism etc. It lies on a flat stretch of land and is, therefore, specially suitable for old and otherwise weak men and women.

Karlsbad, on the contrary, is situated on an encircling row of hills. The main portion of the town lies in a valley and there are roads lined with houses which stretch up the hills on all sides. From the point of view of scenery as also of health, the situation of the town is eminently favourable. The Municipality of Karlsbad has laid out beautiful roads and walks which lead up to the summit of a number of hill-tops surrounding Karlsbad. Most of these peaks—for instance, Dreikreuzberg (the hill with three crosses), Freundschaftshoshe (the hills of friendship), Hirschensprung (Stag's leap), Veitsberg, Aberg, Stifterwarte etc.—are accessible from the heart of the town in about an hour on foot. And from each of these summits a beautiful panorama opens before the eye. The lovely walks leading up to the hill-tops are furnished with seats at short intervals and are so constructed as to appeal to all pedestrians. Moreover, during the season there are cafes on all these remote hill-tops and the tired pedestrian can always refresh himself with food and drink before resuming his journey home. Karlsbad, of course, has all the amusements which are common to all the popular resorts in Europe—tennis, golf, dance, cinema, theatre, riding, hunting, etc. But what makes Karlsbad particularly attractive to me, are the lovely walks leading up to all the surrounding hill-tops. There is no monotony and every day you can enjoy a new walk revealing an entirely new panorama.

Karlsbad was founded in 1349 by Emperor Charles IV (Karl IV). There is an anecdote that Emperor Charles IV was once hunting in the hills surrounding Karlsbad. Suddenly there appeared before him a huge stag and the dogs at once gave chase. The stag sprang down from a steep rock followed by the dogs. Soon after, the Emperor heard the howl of one of these dogs and on riding

down to see what had happened, he found that the dog had been burnt in a hot spring. Thus, quite by accident, was Karlsbad discovered by Emperor Charles IV. Following the advice of his physicians, the Emperor founded a healing bath round the newly discovered hot springs. Since then Karlsbad (Charles, or in its German form, Karl's Bath) has been the most famous watering place in middle Europe and because of the healing power of its springs, it will continue to be famous for all time. Goethe, who visited Karlsbad no less than thirteen times, is reported to have said, 'It is due to these springs that my existence is entirely renewed.' Unlike many other watering-places, a cure in Karlsbad is possible at any time, as the springs and bathing establishments are open throughout the year. The Karlsbad thermal springs are alkalosaline mineral waters in which sulphate of soda, carbonate of soda and chlorate of soda are predominant. Besides these, the proportion of lithium (hydrocarbonate) they contain, and their radio-activity are greater than those found in most mineral waters of this kind. The waters themselves as well as the issuing carbonic acid gas are radioactive.

Karlsbad has a permanent population of about 16,000 but during the season the number of visitors is approximately 50,000. The highest records were in 1928 and 1931 when the number of visitors was 68,000 and 71,000 respectively. But during the last few years, owing to the economic crisis and also to the development of watering places in other countries and the policy of self-sufficiency followed by many Governments, there has been a fall in the number of visitors. In 1933, the number of visitors was 38,000. The lowest figure was 15,000 in 1919. For Czechoslovakia, Karlsbad is also important as one of the centres of the porcelain industry for which Czechoslovakia is so famous. But the world of course knows Karlsbad as a watering place.

The hot mineral springs of Karlsbad are sixteen in number—and the water is used for drinking as well as bathing. The following is a description of some of the well-known springs:

The 'Sprudel' majestically rising up into the air is the symbolic sign of Karlsbad. Its curative waters (72 degrees centigrade) were used for more than one-and-a-half centuries for bathing only, until

about 1520 Dr Wenzel Payer prescribed it for drinking purposes also. The Sprudel yields 2,000 litres of hot water each minute, making a total of 2.9 million litres per day, containing 19,000 kilos of salt solution. The yearly consignment of four million bottles is the supply of 1½ days; and 23,500 goblets of water are consumed every day in the high season, this quantity being the supply of two minutes. The enormous capacity of the Sprudel feeds all the bathing establishments. Over 100,000 kilos of Sprudel salts are produced every year. Each hour the Sprudel produces more than 250 kilos of Carbonic gas.

'The Muhlbrunn'. The most powerful spring next to the Sprudel. Supply 17.5 litres per minute. Temperature 53.7 degrees centigrade. The world consumes yearly 3 million bottles of Muhlbrunn waters. Every visitor to Karlsbad is greatly impressed by the walk close to the monumental Greek structure of the Muhlbrunn colonnade.

'The Schlossbrunn'. The spring highest situated. Supply 45 litres per minute. Temperature 63.3 degrees centigrade. 'The Marktbrunn' rises through a fissure in the rocks at the foot of the Schlossberg. Supply 4.9 litres per minute. Temperature 49.9 degrees centigrade.

'The Kaiser Karl IV spring'. The aforesaid dates back to the lifetime of Emperor Charles IV (1316–1370). The Emperor having a sore foot used to bathe it in this spring and found it beneficial to his health. Supply 5.1 litres per minute. Temperature 50.4 degrees centigrade. The other springs are: Neubrunn, Bernhardsbrunn, The Elisabeth Rosen Quelle, the Kurhausquelle, Parkbrunn, the Russian Kronenquelle, Spitalsquelle, Dorotheensauerling and the Eisenquelle.

There are six bathing establishments in Karlsbad at which the following baths can be had—Sprudel Bath, Mud Bath, Carbonic-acid Bath, Hot-air Bath, Electric Bath, Sprudel-steam Bath, Sprudel-intestine Bath, Sprudel Carbonic-acid Bath, Dry-gas Bath, Mud-Packs Bath, etc.

Karlsbad is specially suitable for the following diseases:- diseases of stomach, diseases of the intestines, diseases of the liver and the gall-ducts and diseases of metabolism. In addition to these, the

following diseases also respond to the 'Karlsbad-cure'—complaints resulting from malaria, diseases of urinary organs, chronic rheumatism of the muscles and joints, diseases of women and skin diseases.

It is a common sight in Karlsbad to see men and women walking about the streets with glasses in their hands and drinking the Karlsbad water. Usually one has to drink the water once in the morning and again the afternoon. During these drinking hours there is an extraordinary rush. During the season, that is, from May till August, long queues have to be formed at each spring for taking the water for drinking. There are large halls of colonnades at all the important springs where people can walk about while drinking the water even in bad weather. Doctors invariably advise for nearly an hour while drinking the water and after.

At present there is one mountain (funicular) railway leading form the town to the top of one of the hills—Freundshoftshohe. Other railways were under construction but they had to be given up owing to the crisis.

Karlsbad water and Karlsbad salts are available all over the world. Though they are not as effective as the fresh Karlsbad water, which is taken from the spring and drunk while it is hot, they are nevertheless beneficial.

Though Karlsbad is a fashionable place with luxurious hotels where one has to face exhorbitant charges, one can nevertheless live cheaply and comfortably if one is not inclined to go in for unnecessary expenditure. For instance, Kurhaus Konigin Alexandra in Schlossberg, where I have been staying, is a comfortable place with moderate charges with good food. Here every room is supplied with running hot and cold water and central heating. There are many such places in Karlsbad. The only inconvenience which a foreigner has to face is a special tax, called 'Kurtaxe', which is levied according to the status and wealth of the visitor. This tax is not levied in a fair way and a visitor had often to fight the authorities in order to have the tax reduced.

There are many other excellent watering places near about Karlsbad—e.g., Marienbad and St. Joachimsthal, which I have also

visited. Near the place there are radium mines. The radium baths of St. Joachimsthal are well known for their curative powers.

I now come to the question as to what these watering places can teach us. There is much that we can learn. India is rich not only in excellent hill-stations and sea-side resorts but also in mineral springs. But very little is done to develop these places in a scientific manner, so that visitors from all over the country could be attracted. This is, of course, due largely to the indifference of the Government. In Czechoslovakia on the contrary, the Government takes an active interest in developing these places. For instance, all visitors to Karlsbad who stay for at least ten days are given a reduction of 50 per cent in the railway fare when they go back. In India before we can expect the Government and the Municipal authorities to do their duty in the matter of developing popular resorts, we have to rouse public opinion. Each of these places by attracting tourist traffic from other countries is able to add to the wealth of its own country. This economic purpose is served in addition to the primary purpose of helping to rejuvenate the people of its own country. Can we not do something on these lines in our own country? State-planning for India's social and economic regeneration will have to include a plan for the development of India's health resorts and watering places.

Note on Netaji Subhas Bose's Collected Works

Volume 1: An Indian Pilgrim (unfinished autobiography) & Letters 1912–1921

Volume 2: The Indian Struggle 1920–1942

Volume 3: Letters 1923–1926

Volume 4: Letters 1926–1932

Volume 5: Writings and Speeches 1923–1929

Volume 6: Writings and Speeches 1929–1932

Volume 7: Letters to Emilie Schenkl 1934–42

Volume 8: Letters, Writings and Speeches 1933–37

Volume 9: Letters, Writings and Speeches 1938–39

Volume 10: Letters, Writings and Speeches 1939–41

Volume 11: Letters, Writings and Speeches 1941–43

Volume 12: Letters, Writings and Speeches 1943–45

Volumes 1 to 6 are available from Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta.

New Volumes 7 to 12 will be published and distributed for the Netaji Research Bureau by Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Index

Abyssinian conflict 109–10, 399, 400
  analysis of 309–26
  Indian response to 323–5
  future of 325–6
Aden, Indians in 287–9
Agnihotri, 32, 150, 151
Akhilbabu 75, 83
All-India Congress Committe, *see under* Indian National Congress
Amrita Bazar Patrika 53, 289
Ananda Bazaar Patrika 55, 95, 128, 178
An Indian Pilgrim xvi
Ankara(Angora) 68, 69
Annals of an Active Life 169
An Phloblacht 53
Anschluss 269, 274, 404
Anti-imperialist movement 348–50, 392
Arbeiter Zeitung 277
Asiatic Students' Congress 44, 45
Associated Press 4, 5, 6
Austria: outcome of the Socialist revolution 267–81
  Social Democratic Party of 32
  Heimwehr Party of 177, 269, 270, 271, 274, 278
  Christian Social Party of 270, 271, 272, 274
  Agrarian Party of 270, 273
  victory over the Turks 272
  Socialist Party of 274, 276
Austrian Socialists 268, 270, 271, 272, 273, 275, 277, 278
Austrian Nazis 268, 269, 270, 271, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277

Badgastein baths 204
Bande Mataram 435–6
  and Hindu-Muslim unity 226–7
Bannerjee, A.C., letter to 228
Bardoli Retreat 242, 243
Basu, Bijoy Kumar 410–11
Basu, Santosh Kumar xvii
  letters to 10, 57, 64
  from Vienna 13, 115, 129
  from Prague 19
  from Switzerland 34
  from Dalhousie 213, 220
Basu, Sudhir Kumar, letter to 207
Benes, Edouard xvii, 21, 131, 360
Benner, Bircher 193
Berlin 61, 139
  municipalty 64–6
Bengali (film) 95, 96, 98, 362
Bengal Press 55
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee 214, 392
Bholanath Dutt 70
Bon (Swami) 115–17
  and Hitler 116
Bose, Bivabati xviii
  letters to 17, 47

Bose, N.K.(Mr&Mrs) 46
Bose, Sarat Chandra xvii, 90, 107, 214, 240
  letter to 186
British propaganda 359, 361–3
  anti-India 257, 258, 359, 361–3

Cairo, visit to 291–7
  the Wafd Party of 295, 296, 297
Calcutta Congress 244
  Calcutta Corporation(municipalty), 11, 13, 17, 34, 49, 72, 96, 219, 220, 223, 381, 392, 394
  letter to an employee 218–20
  lack of Idealism within 393–5
  and Indian architecture 395–6
Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation 213–14
Calcutta Municipal Gazette 10, 195, 201, 202, 389, 393, 395
Capitalism 327, 328
Catholic Congress Vienna 277–8
Chakravarti, Amiya xvii
  letters to
  from Vienna 92–3, 127
  from Dublin 141
  from Badgastein 151, 154
Chatterji, N.C. 73, 74
Chatterjee, Srish Chandra, letter to 222
China and Japan 411–27
Civil Disobedience campaign 247, 253, 380
  suspension of 242, 248, 253, 309, 347
Commercial Gazette, letter from 213
Communal Award, the 83, 356
Communism xv, 55
Corporation of Calcutta, *see* Calcutta Corporation
Czechoslovakia xvii, 21

Das, C.R. 75, 79, 119, 120, 219, 243, 334, 335, 357
Das, Jatin 40
Da Silva, George, letters to 181, 184
Delhi Pact, 1931 243, 246, 247, 248, 250
Demel (Prof) 105, 235
Deshbandhu, *see* Das, C.R.
Deutsche Akademie, *see* German Academy
Deutsche Nachrichtenburo 165
De Valera, Eamonn xvii, 132, 140, 236, 350, 351, 360, 380
Dey, Ajit Kumar, letter to 78
Dey, Surama 48
Dharmavir, J. xviii, 199, 203, 205, 209, 212, 229, 234
Dharmavir, Leila 196, 199, 211, 212, 222
Dharmavir, N.R. xviii, 203, 211, 212
Dharmavir, Sita xviii, 235
  letters to
  from Lahore 196
  from Dalhousie 199, 209, 211, 221, 224
  from Calcutta 229
Dieckhoff, Ministerial-Director 122, 123, 167
Disarmament conference 259
Dominion Status 244
Dublin, visit to 343–5

Europa (Briffault) 202
Europe xv, xvii, xix, 1
  message before departure to 240–1
  politics in 397–410
Eyeless in Gaza (Huxley) 202

Faltis, Otto 43, 134
Fazlul Huq, A.K. xvii
  letter to 96, 130
Federation of Indian Students 45, 113
Fianna Fail Party 344, 351, 352
  meeting of ministers 351–2
First World War 273, 304, 312, 314, 397, 402, 403, 413, 414
Forward 78, 79, 120
France, and Germany, *see under* Germany
Frankfurter Zeitung 114
Free money, theory of 261
Free Press 3, 4, 5, 6, 240
Free Press Journal 7, 53
French Revolution 255
Freud, Sigmund 194, 206
Fulop-Miller, Heddy 40, 110, 187, 191

Gandhi(sm) xv, xvii, 35, 54, 55, 56, 62, 79, 82, 83, 93, 119, 123, 173, 201, 234, 235, 242, 244, 245, 246, 248, 289, 291, 305, 306, 334, 336, 348, 367, 388, 391
Ganguly, Anil Chandra xvii
  letter to 215
Geneva 28, 35, 37, 38, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54, 56, 94
German Academy 114, 166, 167
  India Institute of 116
German–Orient Association 114–15
German Press 62, 268
Germany xvi, xvii, 318, 402
  halting trade with 152
  Indians in 342–3
  and France 402, 408
  and the Little Entente 407–8
  and the Balkan Entente 407
Ghose, Amar Krishna, letter to 185
Ghosh Moulik, Sunil Mohan, letters to
  from Nice 42
  from Geneva 50
  from Karlsbad 102
  from Vienna 123
  from Badgastein 160
  from Calcutta 192
  from Dalhousie 208
  from Giddhapahar detention 228
Ghosh, Tushar Kanti, letters to 174, 186
Gland 31, 34
Government of India Act,1935 xvi, 381

Hapsburg Monarchy 269, 270, 276
Hargrove (Mrs) 104, 105, 106, 159, 176, 202
Hauer (Prof) 99, 180
Hitler, Adolf 62, 63, 152, 153, 165, 166, 167, 317, 318, 319
Hofgastein 106, 108, 109, 110
Home Internment 85
Homi 118, 335

Imperialism xv, 348, 391

India conference, Geneva 29
India Committee, Geneva 57
Indian Legislative Assembly 107, 381
Indian Architecture, revival of 222–3
Indian Mysticism and Ethics (Schweitzer) 180
Indian National Congress xv, 125, 144, 149, 174, 197, 219, 223, 225, 243, 244, 245, 246, 250, 251, 252, 253, 258, 291, 304, 305, 306, 326, 335, 336, 347, 348, 350, 367, 381, 382, 383, 384, 387, 388, 392, 396, 434
A.I.C.C. xvi, 129
working committee 82
parliamentary board 82, 130
jubilee celebration: in Vienna 131, 141; in Berlin 139; 146; in Paris 146
Gaya session 259
failure in minority provinces 355–7
Indian propaganda 257–8, 357–67, 364–5, 365–7
proposal to Rajendra Prasad 173
at World Economic and Disarmament conferences 259
in Germany 342–3
Indian Students
practical training abroad 298–302
in Germany 298–300
and the Indian National Congress 299, 300
and Chambers of Commerce 299–300
contact with other countries 300–1
Indo–British Trade 367–79
Indian Students' Conference 44, 45
Indo–Czechoslovak Society 84, 86, 98, 108, 131, 164, 366
in India 302
Indo-German relations 61–4, 112–14, 345–6
under Nazi rule 165–8
Indo-Irish League 90, 125
Interpretation of Dreams (Freud) 180, 189
IRA 41
Ireland xv, xvii, 40, 53, 132
impressions of 350–2
Irish Free State 41, 125, 344, 387
Irish Press 41, 53, 158, 197, 344
Irish Republican Army, *see* IRA
Italian press 4, 2, 317
Italy
visit to 289–91
Fascist Party in 290, 398
tension with France 399
tension with Britain 400
and Spain 401

Japan and China, *see* China and Japan
Jung, C.G. xvii, 180, 194

Karlsbad 81, 82, 84, 97, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105
municipalty of 437
baths 436–40
Katyar (Mr) 49, 88, 98
Kaviraj, Shyamadas 51
Keenan, J.L 118, 327, 329, 338

Kurti, Kitty xvi, xvii, xviii
letters to
from Geneva 56
from Vienna 126
from Darjeeling 179–81
from Calcutta Medical College Hospital 188
from Calcutta 193
from Dalhousie 206, 210

Labour Association, Jamshedpur 117, 118, 119, 120, 335, 336
Labour Party xvi, 140, 257, 317
conference in Hastings 32
Lahore Congress 244, 245, 246
League of Human Rights 141
French 207
League of Nations 260, 312, 313, 317, 319, 320, 321, 322, 325, 398 326, 346–7, 360, 361, 404, 408
Lesny, V. xvii, 98, 100
letters to
from Geneva 38
from Vienna 74–5, 86, 131
from Karlsbad 84
from Hofgastein 108
from Badgastein 164
from Dalhousie 198–9, 224
Liberty 78, 79
Lloyd Triestino 4, 135, 140, 146, 183, 287
Lohia, Ram Manohar, letters to 206, 215
Lucknow Congress 152, 156

Mac-Sweeney Terence 40
MacBride, Gonne 41, 53, 90, 125, 149, 344
Mahatma Gandhi *see* Gandhi, M.K.
Majumdar, Satyendra Nath
letters to
from Vienna 8, 71, 128
from Geneva 35, 54
from Darjeeling 178
Manchester Guardian 109, 204, 268, 326, 353
Manchuria (Manchukuo) 417, 418, 419, 420
Japanese conquest of 414, 423–6
Marquis of Zetland, letter to 233
Mayor of Calcutta, *see* Basu, Santosh Kumar
Meerut Conspiracy Case 247
Mein Kampf (Hitler) 62, 166, 403, 409
Mitra, Satyendra Chandra, letter to 75, 82
Modern Review 141, 159, 287, 309, 340, 411
Mussolini xvii, 44, 45, 290, 291, 313, 314, 315, 316, 325, 398
Munich 60, 95, 111
Mythos of the Twentieth Century (Rosenberg) 62

Nambiar, A.C.N. 131, 133,
letters to
from Vienna 72
from Karlsbad 80
Naples 289–90
National Sizialistische Strafrecht 63
Nationalist Socialist (Nazi) Party 62, 112, 166
political doctrine of 403–4
foreign policy of 404–6

in Belgium 407
Nehru, Jawaharlal xvii, 55, 56, 105, 123, 127, 149, 215, 306, 345, 388, 391
letters to
from Hofgastein 109
from Badgastein 144, 155
from Darjeeling 175
from Giddhapahar detention 226
Nehru, Kamala xviii, 97, 105, 106, 109, 110, 123, 127, 149
Nehru, Motilal 79, 109, 119, 334, 358
New Constitution 104, 197–8, 347, 382, 383
and liberty 353–4
Nice 39,42,43
Non-cooperation movement 242, 253, 392

Office acceptance, pros and cons of 379–88
Oriental Institute
Indian Circle 38
Italian 44, 45
of Warsaw 59
Orientourist, letter to 230–1
Ottawa Pact 259

Parekh, Kantilal
letters to
from Venice 3
from Vienna 6, 7
from Geneva 30–1
from Munich 60
Paris, visit to 139
Patel, V.J. 12, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 123, 125, 174, 350, 364, 381, 382, 388, 390
Poland, visit to 340–1
Political freedom, India's 248–63, 305
Prabhudayalbabu 71, 79
Prague 19, 38, 74
municipalty 19–20, 21
impressions 263–5
Pruefer, C.R. 167
letters to 61, 89
Punjab 352, 430–3
and the Unionist government 431, 432
Congress in 432–3
Purna swaraj 245, 388

Rapicavoli, Maggiore, letters to 232, 238
Reality of the Soul (Jung) 180
Reuter 4, 5, 6, 7
Rochowanski, 43, 50
Rolland, Romain xvii, 77, 91, 96
letter from 161
letter to 163
meeting with 302–9
on world wars 307, 308
Rome 44, 46, 66, 88
Rosenberg 166
Round table conference 244, 245
Roy, B.C. 83, 123, 201
Roy, Dilip Kumar xvii
letter to 1
Roy, S.C. 73, 74

Saklatvala, N.B., letter to 117
Sakseria Sitaram, letter to 188
Samyavada xvi, 241–63 *passim*
Samyavadi Sangh 55, 56, 262–3
Sanyal, Girija Prasanna 182–3
Sarkar, Nalini Ranjan 83, 265
Schussing 191, 195

Sircar, Nilratan 184
Schenkl, Emilie xix, 159, 162, 236
Selig (Dr) 92
Sen, Nikhil 7
Sen, Santosh Kumar
  letter to 171
  from Antwerp 133, 134
  from Badgastein 143, 145, 146, 150, 161, 164
  from Darjeeling 182
Sen, Priyanath 76
Sen, Rashbehari 205
Sengupta, Nellie 36, 50
Shankar, Uday 146, 150, 151
Shaw, Bernard 77
Simon Commission 244
Soul Problems of the Present Time (Jung) 180
Spanish civil war 400, 402, 409
Sunderland, J.T.
  letters to
  from Vienna 12, 91
  from Karlsbad 103
Swami Bon, *see* Bon
swaraj(ya) 9, 244, 247, 254, 255, 288

Tagore, Rabindranath xvii, 86, 226
  letters to 76, 190, 367
Tata Iron and Steel Company 117–21, 327, 329, 330, 331, 332, 334, 337, 339
The Indian Struggle 1920–34 (Bose) xvi, 76–7, 89, 91, 290
The New America the New World (Wells) 101, 329
The Enchanted Soul (Rolland) 194
Thierfelder (Dr) xvii
  letters to
  from Vienna 111, 122
  from Badgastein 165
Third Indian Political Conference, London: Presidential address 241–63
Times, the 49, 96, 127, 130, 268, 321, 417
Treaty of Versailles 269, 273, 317, 397
Tribune, the 234
Tyrnauer, Alfred, letter to 15

Venice 2, 3, 5, 6
Vetter, Naomi. C. xv, xviii, xix, 135
  letters to
  from Vienna 15, 16, 77, 121
  from Prague 18
  from Warsw 20, 22
  from Berlin 23–4
  from Franzensbad 26
  from Geneva 28–30, 37, 39, 48, 49, 52, 94
  from Gland 31, 36
  from Nice 43
  from Rome 44, 66, 88
  from Milan 45, 47
  from Berlin 61
  from Bucharest 67
  from Budapest 67
  from Istanbul 68
  from Sofia 69
  from Belgrade 70
  from Karlsbad 81, 82, 97, 98, 99, 100, 104–6
  from Calcutta 85, 87
  from Munich 95, 111
  from Hofgastein 106–7, 110
  from Antwerp 136

from Paris 138, 142
on board *S.S. Washington* 138
from Badgastein 147, 158, 231
from Villach station 168
from Calcutta 172–3, 190, 195
from Darjeeling 176
from Dalhousie 200
Vetter (Dr) 121–2, 141, 159, 192
Vienna xv, xvii, 4, 8, 26, 45, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 96, 115, 121, 122, 126, 128, 129, 131, 132, 268, 271, 272
municipalty 10, 13–14, 49, 16–17, 107, 271
Mayor of 10
impressions 263–5
Vivekananda (Swami) 93, 116, 367
voluntary disarming 260
Warsaw 58, 340
municipal institutions 58–9
impressions 263–5
Woods, E. xvii, 344
letters to
from Gland 33
from Nice 40
from Geneva 52
from Vienna 90, 124, 132
from Antwerp 135
from Paris 137
from Badgastein 148, 157, 236, 237
from *Lloyd Triestino* 168
from Conte Verde 170
from Lahore 197
from Dalhousie 225

Zajti, Frances, letter to 39
Zuricher Zeitung 33

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